

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Needed: a China policy

So now Secretary of State Cyrus Vance goes to the People's Republic of China. It is fitting he should do so. The Carter administration has been in office eight months and touched base with virtually every other part of the world. But, despite the President's assertion that China will be a "central part" of United States foreign policy, China has been on the back burner these many months. No doubt the Chinese patiently understand Washington's necessary preoccupation with other early priorities.

Even as Mr. Vance prepares for his journey to Peking, a public debate among China scholars has erupted on what he should do when he gets there. Some voices, like that of respected Harvard sinologist John Fairbank, urge moving rapidly toward establishment of full diplomatic relations with China. This view is vigorously espoused by such a powerful Senator as Edward Kennedy. Other China experts advise a more cautious approach.

We tend toward the latter. To begin with, there is no arguing the United States must move gradually toward a full normalization of relations. China, today relatively weak and underdeveloped, will one day be a dominant military, political and economic power. The U.S. must come to terms with it just as it has with most nations.

This of course means finding a diplomatic solution to the thorny problem of Taiwan. But the question is what the Chinese themselves are prepared to give in return for America's abrogation of its defense treaty and withdrawal of its embassy. Clearly the U.S. has a moral and political commitment to Taiwan. It cannot accept any solution that would give Peking the option of settling the future of the island by any other than peaceful means. So far the Chinese insist this is "an internal matter" and not subject to negotiation. If that remains their position — and Mr. Vance will no doubt probe for possible "give" — why should the United States be budged? China is in no position militarily to seize Taiwan in any case. And, if Washington were to act in haste, this would only add to the strategic concerns of Japan and others brought on by the Carter policy of withdrawing American troops from South Korea.

Here, in fact, we sense a gap in thinking in Washington. There appears to be no overall concept or framework governing the Carter policy in Asia, or at least none that is visible. How, for instance, does the United States now view China in relation to the Korean peninsula, to Japan, to Southeast Asia? How does it intend to bring China into the strategic arms limitation talks? And on human rights, what about the closed nature of Chinese society and the West's desire to "open up" China more? What, in other words, does the United States expect to derive from ties with the People's Republic it does not now have?

It seems to us these and other questions need to be carefully thought out. It is now six years since ping-pong diplomacy was launched and the early drama and euphoria over mutual discovery are over. Americans certainly have come to respect the Chinese for their many achievements. There seems to be a built-in feeling of friendship for China. But it is fair for Americans to ask where the United States is going in its relationship and what it will get out of full diplomatic ties. Why, it might even be asked, should the Chinese not send their high-ranking leaders to the United States? What, in short, is America's "China policy"?

There is time to sort these things out, even while continuing and expanding the contacts already established. The Chinese leaders — relatively pragmatic — are preoccupied with their internal problems and the need to consolidate their political power. They are likely to continue to lash out at the Russians and "balance off" Soviet power no matter what the prospects for a restoration of full relations with the United States. Their growing stridency over Taiwan may sound ominous to some, but it is likely they are merely testing the American will. In any case, they surely know that Mr. Carter would have political problems with Congress if he "dumped" Taiwan.

Let Mr. Vance proceed to Peking, therefore, with a sense of goodwill and a desire and willingness to move forward diplomatically. But may he and the President also have a well-reasoned idea of what they want in return — and where the United States is headed.

Lining up for the canal debate

First verbal skirmishes already are taking place in what looms as a major battle of words over the new Panama Canal agreement announced by the Carter administration. The President now has embarked on a campaign to build up pressure in favor of the agreement as soon as possible, doubtless in an effort to head off opposition before it can muster its full strength. For this purpose, he has promptly and wisely enlisted the support of former President Ford and former Secretary of State Kissinger.

This was a shrewd political step on Mr. Carter's part. It points up the bipartisan nature of U.S. foreign policy moves, reflected in this instance in the continuity of efforts to work out a new settlement with Panama on the waterway. Mr. Ford's backing should help offset the vigorous opposition developing among Republicans. Party conservatives under the leadership of Ronald Reagan to what is termed a canal giveaway.

The White House struggles to push for an early decision could prove counterproductive, however. It will take time for Americans, a majority of whom apparently oppose the impending changes, to learn the facts of the situation and perhaps reach their judgment. What is needed is a sufficient interval, first for a full airing of the arguments (details of which remain to be set forth), and then for calm consideration of a final choice by individual Americans and the senators who represent them.

Such a procedure, it seems to us, would give Mr. Carter's better chances for an ultimate victory than rushing ahead with an early show-

down. It also would insure against too hasty approval of a controversial issue. Moreover, Democratic leaders are urging that the debate in the Senate should not take place until early next year, which seems reasonable.

One can understand, on the other hand, the President's eagerness to generate momentum for the canal agreement. Unless he can change the prevailing sentiment, he faces the possibility of a serious setback in the realm of foreign affairs — an area in which he already is experiencing difficulty, as in achieving a Mideast settlement. The canal battle, in short, will be a major test of the administration's power, and Mr. Carter naturally is determined to win it.

Unquestionably there is a deep emotional reluctance on the part of many Americans to giving up something they regard as theirs. In the campaign oratory of last year, the canal became to some, a symbol of continuing American authority in a rapidly changing world. They do not want to surrender it to a small Latin American nation under pressure. Their sense of patriotism is strongly involved.

Yet the winning usefulness of the canal itself is reflected in cold statistics, such as those showing that only 3 percent of U.S. intercoastal trade now passes through the waterway. Plus the fact that many of today's ships, including major naval vessels, are too large to transit the big ditch. Most important, however, revision of the canal agreement will signal to all of Latin America the end of an era when the United States was viewed, rightly or wrongly, as a colossal dominating its smaller neighbors.

'Israel has the right idea. Defensible borders'



Another Begin ploy

Israel's move to extend social services to Arab inhabitants of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip is ostensibly billed as "humanitarian." But there is little doubt it is calculatedly political. It is the latest step in an evolving policy of reasserting Israel's claim to these seized territories.

Thus, the Menachem Begin government will provide hospitals, social security, and other benefits for those Palestinian Arabs who reside on lands it regards as historically part of Israel. These are said to be "liberated" rather than "occupied." Significantly, these humanitarian services are not granted to the Druze people who live on the Golan Heights or to the Bedouin Muslims of Sinai — areas which Israel is prepared to give up.

Does the new plan signal a move toward annexation of the West Bank and Gaza? The term appears to be irrelevant, in Mr. Begin's eyes. As a Cabinet spokesman commented,

"The Israeli people cannot annex Israel."

The Prime Minister does not have the full support of Israelis for his move. Some opposition members of the Knesset argue it could set back a Geneva conference. But their efforts to put the issue on the parliament's agenda unfortunately were defeated.

This development can't only add to the general confusion and gloom that now surround support of Israel's efforts, and it is likely to be viewed with concern in Washington. This is the second time President Carter has been outflanked after Israeli-American talks. On the first occasion, Prime Minister Begin legalized three Israeli settlements in the West Bank immediately after his return home from the United States. The present move comes soon after talks with Secretary of State Vance.

Mr. Begin is proving to be a formidable leader and maneuverer. He is out front with the ball. The United States has yet to catch up.

Capitalism, yes

The honorable fruits of capitalism are the best defense of what is still the soundest economic system the world has devised. But we are glad to be reminded by a Rutgers University sociologist that all the recently exposed ethical and legal lapses by capitalists do not destroy another factor in favor of the system they have dishonored. It is the correlation between capitalism and democracy. Thus Americans, for example, serve their democratic political interest by pruning the abuses and nourishing the strengths of capitalism.

"To be sure, a number of ugly dictatorships have capitalist economies and there are capitalists undeterred by hand-holding relationships with dictators," writes Prof. Peter Berger in the Wall Street Journal. But he adds that "there is not a single democratic regime in the world today that does not have a capitalist economy." This is more than coincidence. Think about it.

Austro-Hungary, 1977

Don't look now, but the Austro-Hungarian connection is back again. In a manner of speaking, that is. It seems that Austria and Hungary have agreed in principle to abolish visa requirements for travel between the two countries. That would mean the most open border between East and West — a border that once bristled with minefields and barbed wire.

Contrary to what one might expect, moreover, the traffic would not be one-way. Hungarian officials reportedly are concerned they would not be able to provide enough facilities for the increased flood of Austrian tourists. Déjà vu may not have solved some of the bigger problems in East-West relations. But it has gradually eased conditions in Eastern Europe. Let those Austro-Hungarian tourists take over, we say.

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WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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60¢ U.S.

SALT II climate suddenly turns warmer

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
"Atmospherics" for the achievement of a SALT II agreement have improved decidedly in the last few weeks, the Monitor has learned.

Parties to the strategic arms limitation talks are now, Washington sources say, moving towards "consummating a document like that worked out in a conceptual way" by Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger at Vladivostok in 1974.

A source (who can only be described as close to both the Vladivostok agreement and the high-level Carter effort to pen a SALT II agreement before SALT I expires this fall), says the President is now in a position "to get what was worked out in a preliminary way at Vladivostok — plus a little bit more in the way of arms limitation."

The parties, apparently far apart after the Soviets cold shouldered Mr. Carter's initial effort to achieve major, mu-

tual arms reductions, have moved suddenly much closer.

First it was Leonid Brezhnev recently saying he would welcome an armistice initiative from the United States. And now sources high up in the administration have told the Monitor that "we also welcome an initiative" (from the Soviets).

In other words the United States is responding affirmatively to the Soviet call for a renewal of serious negotiations.

Also, it is the administration's way of saying publicly what it now is saying most vigorously in private to the Soviets: The climate now is right for arms-reductions talks. Let's get going.

What this means, it seems, is that the U.S. is watering down its arms-reductions demands as it seeks to come together with the Soviets on a SALT pact.

At the same time, as interpreted by knowledgeable sources here, the Brezhnev talk of welcoming a U.S. initiative is seen as a signal to the United States that the Soviet

leader has looked over his own situation — particularly the signs of a fading Soviet economy — and decided that it is to the Soviet advantage to put some kind of a cap on the arms race at this point.

Critics of this administration privy to the Vladivostok "conceptual breakthrough," as Henry Kissinger once described it, are convinced Mr. Carter might well have gotten about 10 percent more in arms limitations had he moved quietly and persistently in that direction at the outset of his negotiations with the Soviets.

These critics are known to feel that should Mr. Carter once more break out in the open with his negotiations with the Soviet leaders, he could destroy prospects for an early agreement of any kind.

They say, however, that there seem to be definite signs that Mr. Carter is mulling his Soviet-directed diplomacy and that there are assurances that he will continue to negotiate in private.

Vance's Peking diary

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Peking
The banquet hall was smaller than the one used for the visits of Henry Kissinger. And no top-ranking Chinese official turned out to talk with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

But talks on the future of American-Chinese relations got off to a serious, cautious start Aug. 22 — amid parades, a nine-course banquet, and a visit to the historic Imperial Palace.

The Chinese side lost no time in repeating its long-unbending stand on Taiwan. Shortly before Mr. Vance's late morning arrival at Peking airport, a new Chinese statement dealing with Taiwan was released. As excerpted from Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's "political report" to the recently concluded 11th national Communist Party congress, it once again called for severing U.S. diplomatic ties with Taiwan, withdrawal of American troops from the island, and an end to the mutual-security treaty.

"We are determined to liberate Taiwan. When and how is entirely China's internal affair," said the statement, which once again refused to rule out military action to achieve the announced goal.

At a banquet following afternoon talks, Foreign Minister Huang Hua pointedly referred to those words by Chairman Hua on Taiwan as "expressing the will of 800 million Chinese people." But despite repeated recent statements by the Carter administration that it stands behind Taiwan's security, Mr. Huang's

toast was generally low-keyed, unabrasive, and cautious.

What remains to be seen is how the Chinese will react to specific proposals on Taiwan being brought by Mr. Vance. The U.S. Secretary of State is believed intent on finding out if the Chinese will compromise by accepting an indirect, lower-level U.S. security commitment to Taiwan to replace the 1954 defense treaty. For example, would the Chinese agree to "look the other way" if the United States ended the treaty commitment but continued to supply weapons and economic aid to Taiwan?

So far, neither side is reported to have discussed these complex issues. The 2½-hour talks between Mr. Vance and Mr. Huang Aug. 22 consisted of a general exposition of U.S. foreign policy in Europe and Asia. Aside from introductions, the Chinese side never spoke despite invitations to ask questions, according to sources in a position to know what had been discussed.

The exposition on U.S. policy was to conclude Aug. 23, this time touching on Latin America and Africa. The two sides also were expected to begin discussions of "bilateral issues" between them, including Taiwan.

So far, both sides have reaffirmed their commitment to the 1972 Shanghai communiqué. In that document the United States accepted the principle that there is only one China but "reaffirmed its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan issue by the Chinese themselves."

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Cyrus Vance, Hua Kuo-feng
Vance goal in Peking — a Taiwan compromise
By Albert J. Forbes, staff writer

'We don't have the bomb,' says South Africa

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

It is an atomic bomb is added to the explosive racial situation in southern Africa, nobody knows for certain what the outcome would be. French allegations that white-ruled South Africa has plans to explode a bomb have been denied by the South African Government, which also assured U.S. President Carter that it did

not intend to develop atomic weapons. But the claims have turned the world spotlight temporarily away from Rhodesia to South Africa itself.

The result could be to speed up a trade and arms boycott against South Africa. So far, Western governments have in no way physically pressured South Africa to change its segregation policy of apartheid despite emotional claims to the contrary by South African officials. The falloff in foreign investment in South Africa has been determined by economic considerations, not by pressure from Western governments.

It is significant that the French, who have contracts to supply South Africa with two nuclear plants by 1982, came out officially with the charge that South Africa was getting ready to set off an atomic test explosion (after initial accusations by the Soviet Union.)

Some analysts think the French accusation

Note to readers

In view of the possible strike at London's airports this issue is being flown out of Boston earlier (than usual) and contains fewer pages. We expect to return to normal size and deadlines next week.

We regret any delay caused to readers outside the United Kingdom.

Mideast: Why U.S. diplomats wear rose-colored glasses

By Joseph C. Harsch

Menachem Begin, Israel's new Prime Minister, is making life difficult for President Jimmy Carter of the United States. The evidence is in the earnestness of American diplomats trying to cling to the theory that Mr. Begin is not doing the things which he is in fact doing.

What he is doing is to proceed with astonishing speed to treat the West Bank of the Jordan River as though it were an integral and permanent part of the State of Israel instead of being part of the Kingdom of Jordan temporarily occupied by Israeli armed forces, which is what the Government of the United States insists that it is.

Mr. Begin's actions began immediately on his return from his recent Washington visit. He referred to the West Bank as "liberated Israel" and "legalized" three Jewish settlements there. Over the past few days he has autho-

rized another three Jewish settlements on West Bank territory. His government also announced that the million Arabs living on the West Bank would hereafter be treated equally with residents of the State of Israel, meaning that they would receive the same government aid and services as Israeli citizens.

When the American Ambassador in Israel

Commentary

and the State Department in Washington protested these actions, the Israeli Government issued a formal statement following a Cabinet meeting which said:

"Israel does not accept and cannot accept the assertion that settlement by Jews on the land of Israel is illegal."

The issue turns on whether the West Bank is part of "the land of Israel." Mr. Begin and his government now assume that it is and are act-

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Europe

An edge of anxiety persists in democratic Spain

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Spaniards have suddenly found their normally sedate and uneventful summer vacation season beset by rumblings that raise troublesome questions.

Police foiled an apparent attempt Aug. 17 to assassinate King Juan Carlos, Queen Sofia, and Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez González. The attempt underscores the fragility of Spain's fledgling democracy, which hinges on strong personalities to offset still-weak institutions.

The government acted to end a bakers' strike in Madrid by taking over 10 bakeries, thus restoring one-half of the capital's bread supply. Four bakers were arrested. The strike was the latest test of the government's determination to bring down the inflation rate, now running at 30 percent.

Issues discussed

Police who foiled the assassination attempt discovered an explosive in an underpass in Palma de Mallorca only moments before the King and Prime Minister were to drive through. The explosive was similar to the kind used by the supposedly leftist terrorist group GRAPO, whose true identity is the subject of much speculation.

King Juan Carlos and Mr. Suárez had been meeting in Palma de Mallorca, the King's summer home, to discuss such problems as autonomy for Catalonia (expected shortly) and the "bread crisis" in Madrid.

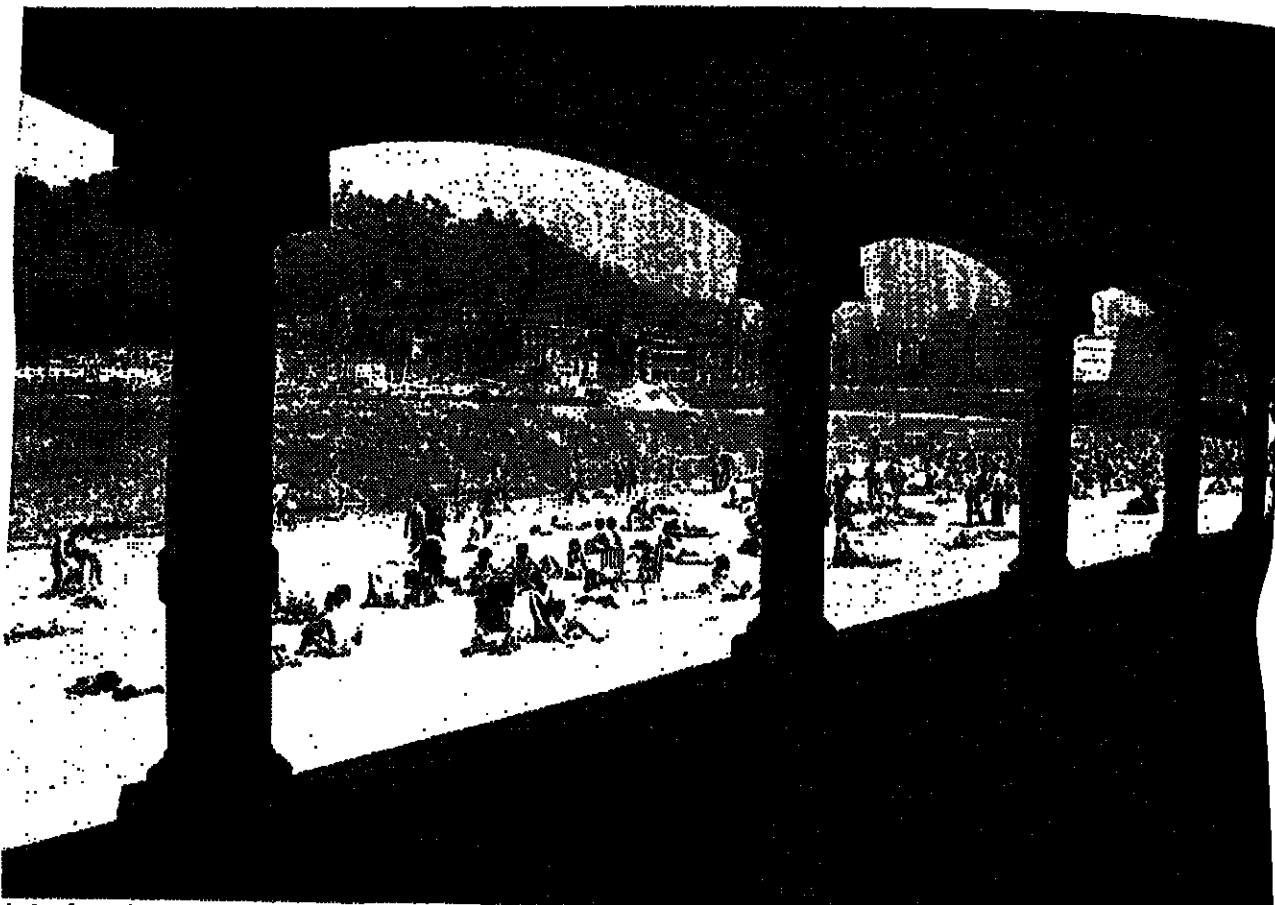
Afterward, Mr. Suárez told reporters: "The Spanish people have demonstrated their desire for a democratic consolidation in our country. These groups, regardless of which [ideology] they belong to, do not want this process to be consolidated peacefully. I feel sorry for them, very sorry."

GRAPO has an ongoing polemic with the outspoken liberal Madrid daily *Diario-16*, whose premises it bombed in June. *Diario-16* suggests the terrorist group might be right wing or left wing, manipulated by what Spaniards call "parallels."

Supersecret police

Parallels are the highly elite supersecret police set up during Franco's time to infiltrate leftist groups. A warning was recently voiced by Luis González Maza, famous "superagent" of the Franco era. An 18-year veteran parallel, he now lives in exile in France and "went public" about Spanish intelligence practices in his best seller, "Cinco."

In a recent article in the Madrid daily *El País*, Mr. González estimated there are 3,000 parallels in Spain linked to an efficient network of well-armed sympathizers. He charges GRAPO and other extreme left groups have "served as an alibi for the parallel police" who, he claims, infiltrate and actively manipulate these groups toward violence to justify their own existence. He urges immediate control of the "black or-



Arches frame the beach, San Sebastián, Spain

By a staff photographer

August in Spain: a time of strikes and sunshine

chestra," which he feels threatens democracy and is tied to foreign rightists.

Life-style interrupted

On the economic front, Spaniards are likely to find their comfortable life-style periodically disrupted by the new democratic liberties.

First came the hotel strike which threatened to scare tourists away, then the "bread scandal."

The bread crisis arose when the bakers cut the one kilo 6½ pound loaf by one-third and continued charging the same 38 pesetas (43 cents) price. They said it was necessary due to rising costs and government price freezes. As public reaction sur-

ged, the order to arrest four strike leaders was issued, 2 million pesetas (\$23,000) fines were slapped on the arrested bakers and government authorities insisted the army would make the bread if necessary.

Unions back government

The unions backed the government decision and openly opposed the bakers' bread price increase.

Even so, Spaniards seem to be preparing themselves for an autumn of labor unrest, government-business clashes over prices — and for possible renewed actions by extremists. In short, the initial euphoria over democracy seems greatly dul-

led in the face, it is asked, just when the new Carter administration is becoming more involved in both Mideast and southern African affairs?

Hence, the committee set up by the 1976 General Assembly to work on a convention agreed Aug. 19 to ask this fall's assembly for another year of life.

The West Germans were elated. They have invested considerable political and diplomatic prestige in this, their first major UN initiative. Much of the committee's three-week debate, in fact, revolved around the draft convention put forward by the West Germans and intended to ensure that those who take hostages are either prosecuted where they are caught or are extradited.

In addition, the West Germans' endeavors here give a broader dimension to their efforts within West Germany to cope with the small but determined band of violent extremists who have engaged in a series of terrorist acts over the past few years. Most recent examples were the killing of the country's chief prosecutor last April and the murder, during an attempted kidnap, of a leading banker July 30.

However, the strength of opposition to the convention was not only in the West. The Soviet Union, for example, has been a vocal opponent of the convention since its inception. The Soviets were described by Western diplomats as trying

every maneuver in the book to sidetrack or destroy the convention. Their onslaught was said to go beyond the usual backing of their radical allies and to become a pointed attack on the West Germans.

The main thrust of the radical states was to recommend exemption from any such convention of national liberation movements. Working papers to this end were submitted by Algeria, Libya, Syria, Tanzania, Lesotho, Nigeria, and Guinea.

The Algerians went a step further. They recommended that the international community should "encourage, support, and defend" violent acts against what they termed colonialist, neo-colonialist, and racist regimes when these acts were part of a struggle to restore "legitimate rights" or "redress an injustice."

Libya added its own touch by turning the whole convention proposal on its head. The Libyan paper described the taking of hostages as the seizure or detention, not only of individuals but also of "masses under colonial, racist, or foreign domination" — a phrase presumably aimed at both Israel and South Africa.

But the West German proposal survived nonetheless. And by a narrow vote, the General Assembly will be completed within three or four years. But other Western diplomats are far less optimistic and expect it to be kept in committee indefinitely.

Bonn keeps anti-hostage convention before UN

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

A proposed international convention against seizing hostages has survived a mighty pummeling here . . . but only just.

Despite sustained Soviet attempts to sink it in committee, the West Germans have managed by the skin of their teeth to salvage the proposal which they launched with such fanfare last fall and to guide it safely into at least one more year of debate.

That in itself is something of a victory. In the words of West German Ambassador, Baron Rudiger von Wechmar, "It is good progress — not overwhelming, but good."

But not even the most optimistic West German expects the proposal to get beyond the discussion stage in the near future. The antagonism of radical Arab and African countries who see such a convention as possibly crimping the style of national liberation movements, is considered far too great for that.

Up to this point, however the Arab and African radicals have stopped short of totally wrecking the idea. It is widely assumed here that they and their less extreme colleagues have no desire to govern the entire world. They are content to live in one of the UN's many basement conference rooms. Why should they slap the West, especially the United States,

Kappler escape angers Italian-in-the-street

By David Wiley
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Italian public opinion is reacting with unusual anger and skepticism over the escape from a Rome military hospital of the Nazi war criminal Herbert Kappler and his immediate abolition from further penal proceedings by West German justice authorities.

The Italian press accuses the West German secret service of having mismanaged the snatch from Rome. First reports said Kappler's wife, Anneliese, alone, was responsible for his escape.

Even Gen. Ugo Foscolo, chief military prosecutor in charge of investigations into the escape, says he does not believe the

official version that Kappler was smuggled out of the Cello military hospital doubled up inside a suitcase.

In an interview published in the Turin newspaper *La Stampa*, General Foscolo says Anneliese Kappler was probably helped in her daring coup by the West German secret services.

Both the Communists and the right-wing press have spelled out in clear terms the suspicion that there was connivance at the highest level between the West German and Italian Governments and that the official disclaimers uttered in Rome are a cover-up for a deal that had been in the offing for many months.

Early last year Kappler was transferred from the military prison in Gaeta, where he had served 28 years of a life sentence for war crimes, to the military hospital in Rome for

medical treatment. He was said to be seriously ill. Then in November, 1976, an Italian court, bowing no doubt to considerable diplomatic pressure from West Germany, Italy's most important international creditor in its economic troubles, decided to release him on compassionate grounds.

There was an immediate outcry, particularly from Romans who remembered the 335 victims of the Ardeatine caves massacre carried out on Kappler's orders in 1944. The court's decision was suspended by a military tribunal, but the diplomatic pressure from the German Government was kept up.

Although it is unlikely that the government will fall as a result of the Kappler scandal, the case has demonstrated that Italians will no longer be content with official half truths about scandalous subjects of public concern.

Tiny Taiwan still divides U.S. and China

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

When "normalization" with Peking comes, it will have been accomplished step by step and as a "mutual understanding" and not as some form United States-Communist China pact.

High administration sources have disclosed that recent talks between Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and China's leaders aimed in the direction — of moving gradually toward a point where the relationship "in retrospect would be viewed as normalization."

Basic to the administration's strategy is to bring about an "understanding" with Peking whereby its leaders will not have to assert that they won't attack Taiwan, but under which it would be understood, by both sides, that not only will no such effort to retake Taiwan take place but that should it happen, the United States would jump in militarily to defend Taiwan.

The administration sources say they "would hope that both sides will explore the ways to deal with normalization and how it is to be achieved."

They add that they "would hope both sides would begin to initiate some flexibility in the structure of the relationship" in order to hasten normalization.

On the road toward normalization, and as part of bringing about this result, the United

States seeks these interim gains in mutual relations with Peking.

• Enhancement of bilateral cultural, economic and scientific relationships.
• Emphasis on these global problems, issues, and possibilities where Peking and Washington's interests are parallel.

The top-level administration assessment of normalization is this:

"It is a process that goes beyond this [Vance] meeting. There are many difficulties to overcome — many international rearrangements are necessary."

But the U.S. concept of normalization, when it comes, now seems to be a "mutual understanding" — where no previous action will be asserted — with a little bit of flexibility" on the way the parties would act under some circumstances.

Obviously, there is no fixed U.S. formula for this understanding. Instead, it seems that the United States will simply move in this direction, probing, suggesting, listening to counter-suggestions — but hoping that in time a way will be worked out to achieve this understanding.

But, as now defined, the United States sees this meeting with the Chinese leaders as a way in itself in which the two nations can learn to understand each other better — each other's problems, each other's global goals — and hence an important step on the way toward that mutual understanding which, in time, will be looked back on and called normalization.

Carter reminds most of Kennedy

Washington
President Carter reminds Americans more of the late John F. Kennedy than of any other U.S. President, according to a recent opinion survey.

Public Interest Opinion Research, a national polling firm based in Virginia, asked 800 Americans in telephone calls which former President Mr. Carter most resembled.

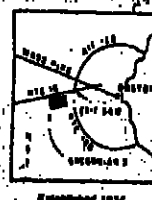
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Asia

New turn in Nepal's road to democracy

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Katmandu, Nepal
Nepal soon will have a new national government with the brother of its most controversial politician at its head, if reports currently making the rounds here are accurate.

If the move takes place, veteran political observers say, it will be a significant turn of events in the continuing dispute over restoring democratic rule to this landlocked Himalayan kingdom.

According to well-informed sources, King Birendra is about to declare the formation of a new government with Matrika Prasad (M.P.) Koirala as prime minister — possibly before the rainy season ends later this summer. Mr. Koirala is the elder brother of Bishwesar Prasad (B.P.) Koirala, the first prime minister and now under indictment on a variety of criminal charges.

B. P. Koirala, however, was given special permission by the King earlier this summer to travel to the United States for medical treatment and has not yet returned, although he is pledged to do so. A vigorous champion of democracy, he spent most of the last nine years in self-imposed exile in India advocating the forcible overthrow of the partyless system of government known here as panchayat. If he is found guilty of the charges against him, he could face execution.

By his recent actions, the King has demonstrated that he is more flexible on the question of democracy than was his father, the late King Mahendra, who seized power here in 1960, ousting B. P. Koirala's government in the process. Nonetheless all this begs the question why the King should want to change governments at this time.

A large part of the reason may be India. India blocks Nepal's access to the sea and is, of necessity, its No. 1 trading partner. The two countries also share a long-standing Hindu heritage.

But relations between them have been strained in recent years, and when the new government in India took office last March, some of its officials began demanding publicly

that Nepal release B. P. Koirala and other political prisoners. Then, too, although the two countries failed to agree on renewal of a vital trade treaty while former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was still in power, there has been no progress under the new government, either.

One of the chief stumbling blocks to improved relations may be Nepal Prime Minister Yashwantrao Jir, who has been in office throughout the treaty negotiations. He also has failed to sell the Indians on another pet Nepal project — getting this country recognized as a "zone of peace" between India and its giant Asian rival, China.

Dr. Jir, who is not the popular figure here that the Koirala brothers are, particularly took offense at Indian newspaper stories publicizing the demands that B. P. Koirala be freed. He charged "interference" in Nepal's internal affairs. Reportedly he also pledged that on his return B. P. Koirala would find no room for reconciliation with the crown and would be tried and punished to the fullest extent of the law.

However, it is thought in certain circles that although Mr. Koirala probably will be tried and convicted, it is likely the King will pardon him. It also is speculated that Dr. Jir will have been replaced as prime minister by then.

King Birendra already has sent M. P. Koirala to India (after granting his brother permission to leave), apparently to seek unofficial Indian endorsement for the projected new regime here. It is understood that this was received, provided the new government was aimed at democratizing the kingdom. M. P. Koirala is widely known in India, where he received his political schooling. He numbers among his friends Jayaprakash (J. P.) Narayan, the veteran leader who led the campaign to replace Mrs. Gandhi and proposed formation of the united opposition party that now governs India.

The elder Koirala is understood to have met some of his brother's fellow Nepali Congress Party exiles in India and to have won assurances of their cooperation — also on the condition that the new government here is intended to take the kingdom toward democracy.

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Soviet Union

Soviet hands unsteady on the puppet strings

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The Kremlin is ending the summer with two long-range foreign policies in disarray — and continuing difficulties with its Communist neighbors.

While reporting only briefly that Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance was visiting China, the Soviets are said to have been watching intently to see just how much progress Mr. Vance can make toward formal diplomatic ties with Peking.

Western diplomats say Moscow has been expecting full ties to come at some point, but remains uneasy at what this might mean: (1) for boosting China's strength with American aid and (2) for possible cooperation against Soviet influence in various parts of the world.

On the Horn of Africa, the Kremlin has finally heard the words it had hoped to avoid — words of criticism from Somalia, with which it has a full-fledged treaty of friendship.

It looks to Western analysts here as if the long-range Soviet plan to patch up the Eth-

iopia-Somali feud and carve out a new zone of influence at the mouth of the Red Sea and in northwestern Africa now is beyond saving.

Among Communist parties in Eastern and Western Europe, the Soviets appear to have zig-zagged in recent days.

In the communiqué after talks here between Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev and President Tito of Yugoslavia, the Soviets repeated previous pledges to base their policies on strict observance of sovereignty, independence, equality and noninterference, as well as on freedom in choosing different ways of socialist (Communist) development.

Pledge promptly upset

But just one day later, the ruling Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party issued a statement which referred three times to the importance of building closer links between Moscow and Eastern Europe.

The statement (ostensibly to approve Mr. Brezhnev's summer meetings with various East European leaders) could have been intended as a reminder of the formula Mr. Brezhnev talked about Aug. 16 — the one that

urges other Communist parties to combine independence with solidarity with Moscow.

On Mr. Vance's China visit, the Soviets have refrained from any comment as yet, perhaps because of Washington's efforts to dampen hopes in advance that anything spectacular might emerge.

One Western source here said: "Dealing with China is a good card for Washington to play. It keeps the Soviets uneasy."

But there is a feeling among Westerners here that President Carter should beware of offering any military aid to China at any point. The view is that this could be going too far in upsetting the Kremlin, which might feel itself forced to make drastic countermoves of some kind. U.S. arms aid would be destabilizing, one Western source said.

Peking news scanty

The Soviets have been reporting the first Chinese party congress since Mao Tse-tung's passing with a cool lack of detail. The Communist Party newspaper Pravda Aug. 21 published a brief report from the Tass news agency

which ended on a note of evident disapproval: the conference, it said, had been held under Maoist slogans.

In Soviet terms, Maoism is the catchword for all China's anti-Soviet policies since the formal break with Moscow in the early 1950s.

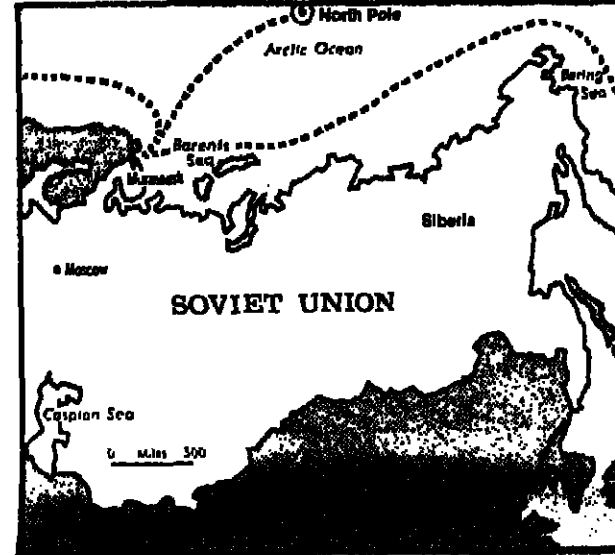
Tass made no mention of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's call to build a modern, powerful China by the year 2000.

The Soviets reported well after the fact the Ethiopian call for full mobilization. But at this writing they had not mentioned the Somali criticism of the Soviet tilt toward Ethiopia.

The recent Soviet line in public has remained unchanged: regular units of the Somali Army have invaded the Ogaden region, which is Ethiopian territory. Both sides should hold peace talks at once — an apparent criticism of Somalia, which has walked out of one mediating session.

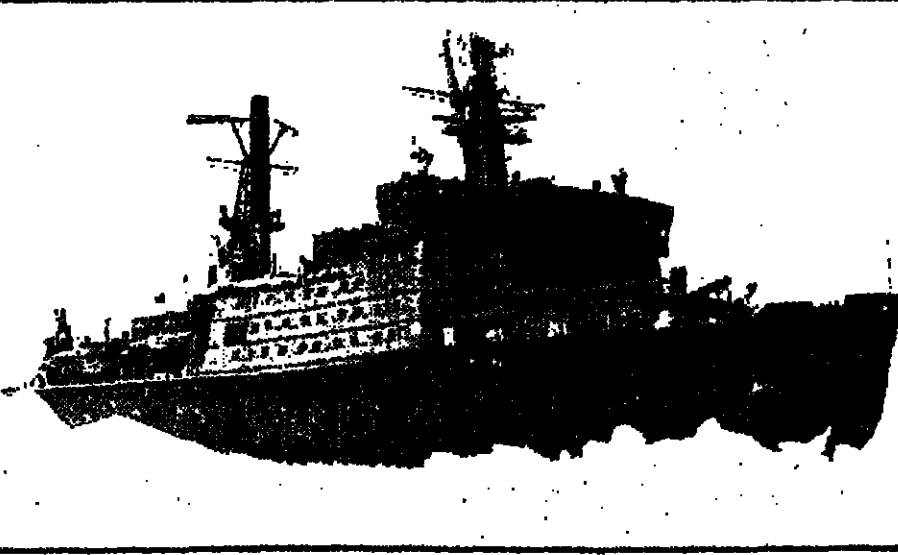
Western sources here think the Soviets have been sending arms to both sides to try and extricate themselves from an awkward position. The question now is whether those deliveries to Somalia will cease — an action that would virtually invite Washington to move in.

Soviet Union



By Tom Brown

Opening shipping lanes across top of the world



Novosti

Icebreaker Arktika first surface vessel to reach North Pole

Atomic icebreaker opens way to Siberian treasure

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
Behind the success of the atomic-powered icebreaker Arktika in crashing a path through pack ice to the North Pole lies a little-noticed Soviet struggle to keep open vital shipping lanes across the top of the world.

And the real significance of the Arktika achievement lies in what it indicates about the success of this struggle, rather than in world headlines about the North Pole feat itself, Western analysts here say.

In recent years the Soviets say they have been hacking paths through Arctic ice earlier and earlier each year. This year an icebreaker flotilla led by the same 18,172-ton, 480-foot, 75,000-hp. Arktika bulldozed through ice up to 12 feet high to open the 1,200-mile channel from Murmansk to the Yamal Peninsula in early March, Soviet officials report.

According to the Soviet Merchant Marine Ministry, this was one month earlier than the year before — and three months earlier than the traditional opening of the route in July.

The implications of this for the Soviet Union are big, experts agree.

• The longer the lanes stay open each year, the faster Si-

beria itself can be developed and its huge natural resource treasure chest exploited.

• Specifically, prospects increase for opening up the huge natural gas and oil fields of the remote and frozen Tyumen region. Today it can take a full 18 months of fighting the elements to move drilling and extracting equipment into place there.

• If the ancient Russian dream of keeping lanes open year round across the more than 5,400-mile span from Murmansk to the Bering Sea comes true, it will have obvious military and naval implications.

It would enable the Soviets to transfer ships from one side of their vast country to the other much faster and more often than they do now.

At the moment, the Soviets are using the feat of reaching the North Pole by icebreaker mainly for publicity purposes. But scientific experts in Moscow say it shows a sustained capacity to move through heavy ice for long periods: The Arktika is one of three Soviet atomic-powered icebreakers.

In addition, this country has large diesel-electric icebreakers, including the Murmansk. In April the Tass news agency reported that a new 3,650-ton diesel icebreaker, the Otto Schmidt, would be built in Leningrad, with a range of 11,000

miles. Its 5,400-hp. motor is designed to push it through ice up to two feet thick at a speed of two knots, Tass reported.

The Soviets have an extensive program of Arctic research, including weather forecasting, ice thickness, and floe movements.

Keeping shipping lanes open is particularly important for future energy supplies. An estimated 80 percent of primary energy resources lies east of the Ural Mountains, Western (and Soviet) studies show. The country is depending on western Siberia to provide all of its planned increases in oil and most of its increases in natural gas through 1980.

Open shipping lanes are particularly important for the newly discovered gas field at Kharasavel on the Yamal Peninsula.

Icebreakers offer the opportunity to deliver heavy machinery to needed ports when winter ice is thick enough to permit fast offloading for transportation down to gas and oil fields. Such offloading is 2½ times faster than using barges and pontoons, Soviet sources say. And it permits the rapid handling of much larger pieces of equipment. American marine experts have been trying to take a firsthand look at the Arktika under a 1973 marine transportation agreement with the U.S.S.R., but so far without success. The U.S. has no nuclear-powered icebreakers.

In search of a sun tan: seaside holiday for a few

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
Ivan Ivanovich has a summer vacation dream.

A luxury cruise or a trip abroad is out of his reach, yet he would gladly settle for a special, low-cost pass entitling him to three restful weeks at a resort run by his factory or trade union.

But according to a new set of figures just out here, in most cases Ivan's dream pass is also out of reach.

The stampede for the passes is growing year after year. More and more Soviet citizens can afford them.

Today, a noted Soviet demographer says that the entire country is on the edge of a recreation explosion and that much needs to be done to handle the boom.

According to the demographer, V. Perevedentsev, figures from a national tourism research institute show that 40 to 75 percent of the population want the special passes.

But the figures show that only 8 percent managed to get them in 1976.

Eight percent amounts to about 21 million people (based on the current population of 287 million). That is quite an achievement in itself.

Big step-up required

But in a recent issue of the Writer's Union weekly publication, Literary Gazette, Mr. Perevedentsev says the country would have to boost its vacation facilities five times if it wanted to guarantee each citizen a pass once every two years by the end of the century.

The favorite places for summer vacations here are the resorts and beaches of the

Crimea, the Black Sea coast (including Sochi), and the Baltic Sea to the northwest.

People flock to the long main streets and the sea-front promenades, strolling, sight-seeing, and trying to find a patch of sand on crowded beaches.

If they cannot obtain a place in a sanatorium or a hotel, they rent a bed in a private home for 1 ruble, 50 kopecks a night (\$2.07) — up from 1 ruble (\$1.38) last summer vacationers report.

Assets and obstacles

More and more people own cars. The level of affluence is slowly rising. More and more families want to take vacations together, which is difficult, since wives almost always work, and it is hard to obtain vacations at exactly the same time as the husband.

Yet Mr. Perevedentsev says almost half of Soviet adults simply choose to stay home for vacations. He does not go into the reasons, but it seems fair to conclude that one of them is the crush, the bother, and the often fruitless search for a pass that is involved in traveling.

Passes tend to go only to the best workers, or those with the most influential friends, Soviet sources say.

About 30 million people visited relatives in the summer of 1976, the demographer reports. Some 15 million more organized their own vacation trips. And 7 million went to resorts but without special passes. About 2 million favored citizens made it abroad. Only 6.3 million were officially classified as tourists.

Mr. Perevedentsev urges more streamlined official control of the recreation industry, fewer overlapping bureaucracies, and better training of service staff. He notes approvingly that the service in the Baltic republics (Latvia,



Shore of the Black Sea, Sochi

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

A place by the sea: uncommon for the common Soviet

Lithuania, and Estonia) is good and that Sochi runs a special training school for staff.

He also urges a closer survey of the Crimea, where the Tass news agency says 6 million people went in 1976.

The figures he cites appear to clash with previous Tass figures, which said that 58 mil-

lion Soviets are provided with vacations by trade unions each year. Tass did not say how his figure was reached.

But the special passes are valuable: Tass says a family of four pays only one-third of total costs for three weeks — that is, between 80 and 100 rubles (\$110-\$138).

How to make a silk dress out of red tape

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
It's the saga of the Soviet silk curtains. It begins in a sewing factory in Belgorod in the Ukraine, which has been sewing silk dresses much sought after by local shoppers.

Suddenly — trouble. The factory is not sewing enough dresses to meet its planned targets. What to do?

Simple. Stop making dresses altogether. Instead, make lengths of silk, run simple hems along them, and presto — silk curtains.

But the townspeople don't want silk curtains. Their answer is equally simple: "Buy the curtains anyway. Take them home, fish out needles and thread, and turn the curtains back into the dresses they wanted in the first place."

"Absurd," asks the Communist newspaper Pravda Aug. 22.

Yes, it answers itself, and proceeds to

quality factor of the Soviet economy for poor quality and poor management.

The Soviet authorities are in the midst of a campaign to raise the quality and assortment of Soviet consumer goods instead of always emphasizing quantity. They have introduced new bonuses for producing good quality. But it is not easy to wrench the system out of time-worn ruts.

Factory managers are too accustomed to fulfilling their plans and awarding bonuses for production alone to switch easily to new ways of thinking.

The silk curtain saga illustrates one of the difficulties. When a factory falls behind, the temptation to abandon both quality and its contract with retail shops is high indeed. That is what the sewing factory did.

Aggravated, Pravda notes that it pointed all this out in April last year, but that the situation is still bad. Using reports from Stivropol,

(a far-flung section of the country), it concludes that both the quality and assortment of goods still are not satisfactory.

Pravda reports that the cost of defective goods in 1976 was about 9 million rubles (almost \$12.5 million) in one Ukrainian region alone.

The newspaper, which carries the authority of the party in its columns, complained that light-industry ministers of the various republics are protecting faulty factories and lowering production targets rather than boosting quality and applying punishment.

What should be done? Pravda suggests that substandard factories be forced to pay some compensation to shops — that raw materials should be of better standards — that quality control should be taken out of the hands of the factories themselves — and that workers be better trained and organized.



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The mighty Soviet economic machine, second biggest in the world behind that of the United States, is ticking along at moderate speed — but is failing to overcome some of its most crucial problems.

Output keeps growing, but it has slowed in several key areas, including energy and steel. Individual workers still perform well below the productivity level of those in the United States or Western Europe. And inefficiency on construction sites continues to be chronic here.

Drawing these conclusions from figures recently released for the first half of 1977, West Analysts in Moscow say performance will have to accelerate sharply if the Kremlin is to celebrate this, the 60th anniversary of the 1917 revolution, by meeting its targets for the year.

Although Soviet leaders can point to considerable progress since World War II, analysts

here see little sign of any new thinking to ease the rigid central planning, the inefficient distribution, and the emphasis on supplying military needs, which keeps a damper on the economy.

One bright spot: Meat, fruit, and vegetables look better in the latest figures, although the disastrous harvest of 1976 has not yet been completely overcome.

For the rest of the world, all this means the Soviet Union is still wrestling with deep economic problems.

Moscow is likely to keep on importing Western know-how, despite its huge foreign debt. It would like to regain access to U.S. technology (now largely blocked by Congress, which has made access conditional on more Jewish emigration), but is not prepared to make concessions to get it.

Given a good harvest to match last year's record, it will import less grain, although it is committed to at least 6 million tons from the U.S. under a long-term agreement.

At the same time, long-term prospects for growth remain fairly good, according to analysts here. The Soviets are still building new machines at a rapid rate and plowing back money into the economy reasonably well.

The balance sheet after the first half of 1977 looks like this:

The Kremlin still cannot report success in

one of its current policy drives: boosting the productivity of each worker. The target for 1977 is a growth rate of 4.8 percent in productivity. But in the first six months of this year, growth was only 4.2 percent.

This dull-sounding figure means that workers, although producing more per head than at the same time last year, are still far below the growth rate (5.9 percent) of 1976.

As the overall economy grows, that growth is more and more dependent on each worker's working better. Moscow is still in trouble on this score.

Another problem area is construction. Only three of nine major construction ministries met their targets in the first half of 1977.

Soviet industry grew 5.7 percent in the first half of the year — 0.1 percent ahead of the 1977 target but well below the figure for 1976 (7.5 percent).

In the vital energy sector, electric power, oil, and gas all gained, but grew more slowly than for the same period a year ago. Electric power grew half as fast.

Oil stayed about the same (a 5 percent gain, to 288 million tons). The Soviets remain the world's biggest oil producers.

As for food, meat production was up (to 4 million tons). Soviet figures indicate production is still about 11 percent behind the pre-drought figures of 1976.

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Africa

S. Africa plans government seats for Coloreds, Asians

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town
South Africa's People of mixed racial descent (the so-called Colored people) and its Asian community are to be invited for the first time to take a share in the government of their country.

This was decided Aug. 20 at a closed meeting in Cape Town of about 300 leading representatives of the all-white ruling National Party, including all its members of Parliament and National Party members of the various provincial councils.

However, there is no plan at present to involve the majority of the country's population — the more than 20 million black Africans — in the central government. This is considered the new plan's most obvious flaw.

In fact, it could be reason enough for the Asian and Colored populations to reject it.

However, in terms of white nationalist ideology it is a major breakthrough. The National Party has refused previously to consider any possibility of sharing power with any other races.

What is more, there is cautious talk that the urban Africans, who at present have political rights only in the so-called "black homelands," might be involved in the proposed new system later.

The National Party is keeping details of the new constitutional plan secret and there are likely to be many changes

before it is delivered as a polished, final product. But from what is known, the present white Parliament will have its powers scaled down, the present Colored and Asian legislative councils will have their powers increased to equal those of the scaled-down white Parliament, and there will be a form of "super-parliament" consisting of white, Colored and Asians in proportion to the size of the different population groups.

This body will elect an executive state president with wide powers. There also is likely to be a racially mixed cabinet for the first time. The present white Senate is expected to be disbanded.

Because the whites (with a population of about 4½ million) are the largest of the three groups (Colored, 2½ million, Asian, 800,000) involved in the plan, they will obviously dominate the proposed new multiracial council.

However, the scheme does represent a limited acceptance of the need to share political power in South Africa.

Although the meeting of party leaders accepted the plan without any apparent major objections, some of those present did raise what the leadership calls doubts about "questions of detail."

This suggests that the right wing of the party led by a deputy cabinet minister Dr. Andries Treurnicht, a notorious hard-liner with strong grassroots support in some areas, may raise more serious objections later.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer
Nonwhites may get a share in government

Soweto women tell whites how it is

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg
It was a most unusual meeting for South Africa.

Black women, mainly from the township of Soweto, were telling white women, mainly from the rich northern suburbs of Johannesburg, what was wrong in blacks' lives.

In a way, this meeting of about 500 Women for Peace was more germane to the country's turmoil than the Aug. 20 meeting of politicians in Cape Town at the same time.

The National Party politicians were discussing proposals for a new constitution that might give increased political rights to South Africa's Asians and Colored (mixed race) people.

The women were talking about police dogs set on students in Soweto this past week, about police raids on schools after 60 percent of the students had agreed to go back to classes, about one black mother of eight who earns only 58 rands (\$86) per month cleaning doors (16 doors a day, she said).

In other words, the women are talking about the urban black crisis facing South Africa, about 2 million people in Soweto who, during

the past 14 months have challenged the Afrikaaner government to the roots of its system of Apartheid, or legalized segregation.

Party concerns in Cape Town

In Cape Town, the politicians were worried mainly about holding together their party, about avoiding a split by right-wingers who do not want to share power with other racial groups.

In Johannesburg, the black women were worried about the hatred of whites which has grown in their children.

At first, the white women thought the blacks were exaggerating. The whites were uneasy for two other reasons:

1. According to the year-old organization's constitution, Women for Peace is a nonpolitical organization. However, the issues brought up by the blacks were certainly political.

2. It is difficult to channel discussion when such deep feelings are involved.

The women's meetings began with a prayer in Afrikaans, but the rest was in English. The main feature was a speech by the editor of the black newspaper, The World, Percy Qoboza, who said such things as:

"Soweto is becoming angry. It is in a state of seige."

"Lip service is paid to the idea of change but nothing is done."

"The days of old kaffirs is over. The days of obedient Bantus are over. The days of determined blacks are in."

Seeing is believing

One white woman told this reporter that she lives on a farm outside Johannesburg where her husband raises racing horses.

She did not believe Mr. Qoboza when he described the police raids. She did not believe a young black woman who stood up and said, "The police are torturing us. They come into the classes and put dogs in the windows."

She did not believe until a white South African woman stood up and said: "I have seen it happen in Soweto. I saw police chasing children. All that has been said is true. . . I am convinced this is going on in a big way."

Suddenly a majority of the white women believed, and the meeting passed a resolution calling on police to refrain from entering any schools and on no account to allow police dogs into school premises or school grounds or into homes.

The tip of Soweto's iceberg of discontent was movingly exposed and the white women responded.

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Carter's foreign dominoes

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
A thicket of foreign policy problems surrounds Jimmy Carter's White House, pitting the President against powerful political and emotional constituencies in the United States.

The chief problems themselves — Panama, China, SALT, and the Middle East — are separate, but they impinge on each other in the president's ability to solve them.

Failure to get the new Panama treaties ratified by the Senate, for example, would make it harder for Mr. Carter to subdue conservative opposition to U.S. diplomatic relations with Peking and to a new SALT II (strategic arms limitation talks) agreement with the Soviet Union.

U.S. supporters of Israel, meanwhile, are girding to offset expected White House pressure on Israel to modify hard-line positions adopted by Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Millions of Americans, fearful that U.S. security would be eroded by diplomatic maneuvers now under way, find common cause in their determination to preserve the present status of the Panama Canal and to retain diplomatic and military links with the Republic of China, the remnant regime established on Taiwan by the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Against this background analysts here assess prospects as follows:

Panama: For several reasons a Senate vote on two newly negotiated treaties, designed to replace the existing accord of 1903, may be put off until early next year.

Top priority this fall, says Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd (D) of West Virginia, belongs to the national energy bill, passed by the House but requiring Senate approval before it becomes law.

Strong Senate Finance Committee opposition to some aspects of President Carter's energy program, notably his proposed heavy taxes on the oil industry and on industrial burners of oil and natural gas, indicates a protracted floor fight, leaving senators little time to consider Panama legislation before fall adjournment.

The White House is far short of the 67 senators required to ratify the Panama treaties, and Senator Byrd warns Mr. Carter that neither Congress nor the public is yet ready to accept them.

Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R) of North Carolina, just back from a trip to the Panama Canal Zone, said he was "certain" the

treaties would be defeated, if a Senate vote were held at present.

Senator Helms appearing Aug. 21 on "Meet the Press" (NBC-TV), said "you can count on" a filibuster against the Panama treaties, when they emerge on the Senate floor.

Sen. Strom Thurmond (D) of South Carolina, also opposed to the new pacts, told "Meet the Press" panelists that "78 percent of the American people" want the U.S. to retain control of the Panama Canal.

SALT: In the inflated atmosphere surrounding the Panama issue, Mr. Carter is expected to avoid any impression of ceding U.S. military superiority — or parity — to the Soviet Union through the terms of a new strategic arms limitation agreement.

Still unresolved is whether or not to negotiate limits on the U.S. cruise missile and the Soviet Backfire bomber. A new issue, closely watched by the Soviets, is President Carter's pending decision on development of the neutron bomb.

On Oct. 3, SALT I — which froze for five years the total of American and Soviet offensive missile launchers — expires. Next month, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko meet in Vienna to discuss the next move.

Many observers expect a decision by the two superpowers to extend the existing SALT I agreement, while negotiations proceed, however haltingly, on restricting future nuclear arsenals. China: Similar caution envelops the complex China issue, with the White House describing Mr. Vance's recent trip to Peking as exploratory, not decisive.

The Secretary of State confronted a newly unified Chinese Communist leadership, headed by Party Chairman Hua Guofeng, which presumably will continue to press Peking's key demand — that the U.S. break its ties with Taiwan, prior to normalization of relations with mainland China.

Washington, for its part, wants a pledge from Peking that reunification of the "two Chinas" — that is absorption of Taiwan by Communist China — would be peacefully achieved.

The Middle East: Two of President Carter's basic demands — substantial Israeli withdrawal from Arab lands seized in 1967 and creation of a Palestinian homeland — are rejected by Israeli leader Begin.

Indeed, Mr. Begin's government has underlined its firmness by accepting three previously illegal Jewish settlements on the West Bank, by extending new civil and social rights to West

United States



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer
Tackling thorny foreign policy issues

Bank and Gaza Arabs (viewed by many as a step toward annexation), and by announcing three more West Bank settlements to come.

President Carter, diplomatic observers agree, may be forced to exert greater pressure on Israel to modify its views, if Arab-Israeli peace negotiations are to be kept alive.

Americans waste energy as government gathers more

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
As Americans continue to waste and import energy at near record levels, the U.S. Government is trying in two ways to protect them against sudden shortages:

• An interagency "winter task force" already is mapping plans to alleviate any hardship stemming from next winter's anticipated shortage of natural gas.

• A second government purchase of crude oil — this time from Mexican wells — is on its way to salt dome storage, as part of the nation's strategic petroleum reserve.

This shipment of about 300,000 barrels will join 412,000 barrels of Saudi Arabian oil now pouring at the rate of roughly 30,000 barrels a day into the West Hackberry salt dome in Louisiana.

Latest figures, meanwhile, show that Americans are consuming more oil in all major categories — gasoline, residual (heavy) fuel oil, and distillates (including home heating oil) — than at the same period in any previous year.

Nearly 50 percent of all petroleum burned by Americans now is imported, a percentage slowly rising as energy consumption grows by roughly 4 percent a year.

Oil from Alaska, soon to reach a volume of more than a million barrels a day, for a time will reduce foreign imports. Rising energy consumption, however, eventually will absorb Alaskan oil and force imports up again.

Goal of President Carter's national energy plan is to reduce the annual growth rate of energy consumption to 2 percent. But, said a federal energy official, "even 2 percent is a lot of growth" and most of that extra oil will come from foreign wells.

Billion barrel goal: Ultimate goal of the program is 1 billion barrels of stored oil, which — withdrawing 3 million a day — would cushion the United States

against an Arab oil embargo for at least 10 months.

A six-month embargo now, says Federal Energy Administrator John F. O'Leary, could force 1.5 million Americans out of work and cost the economy \$50 billion. This compares with a 500,000 jobs and \$35 billion to \$45 billion loss during the 1973-1974 Arab embargo.

The steeper price to be paid now stems largely from the much greater dependence of the United States on Arab oil than was the case in 1973.

Will last winter's natural gas shortage, which forced thousands of U.S. plants to close their doors, be repeated?

There will be curtailments — such as fuel shutoffs to some industrial customers — in any case, said a ranking member of the government's "winter task force." Given normal weather, however, no crisis should ensue, he said.

Only propane down

"Relative to where we were last year at this time," he added, "we are better off in every category except propane." Stocks of natural gas in underground storage are 6 percent higher than last year, but stocks of propane are 18 percent lower.

Weather is the unknown factor and, to mobilize against a repetition of last winter's bitter cold, the task force is doing three things, the official said. They are:

1. Putting together an information system — "weekly flows of information [on natural gas supplies] from the federal government to the states, even daily if necessary."

2. Working with state governors and legislatures to ensure that each state is equipped to take rapid action, when shortfalls occur.

3. Setting up a communications network within the federal government itself, to prevent — as happened last year — several federal agencies peering state governments with overlapping information and requests.

Politicians see grey as squirrels eat red geraniums

By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
A great gray squirrel plague threatens the green oasis of Lafayette Park across from the White House, and the Feds are determined to do something about it.

An astronomical boom in the gray squirrel population in the last year, from an estimated 25 to perhaps 150, has left part of the park vegetation in shreds as the hungry animals munch away at it for dinner.

National Park Service officials first became aware of the problem early this summer when the squirrels turned their tiny, sharp teeth on massed plantings of 2,500 red geraniums. One day there was a blaze of scarlet across the park; a week later, all that remained of \$5,000 worth of geraniums were a few tough stems.

Then the squirrels began shredding and eating the leaves and tender branches of some of the park's trees — beeches and a 100-year-old oak — the Park Service decided to find a solution, short of an all-out war on squirrels.

What they have come up with is a series of "nesting boxes" installed a few days ago in 14 locations in the park. If you crane your neck and peer up at the feathery, spiky-green branches of the bald cypress, you can see a typical box. It is about as big as two shoe boxes, made of pine stained dark brown, and has a squirrel exit hatch — now open, a park spokesman points out.

Portable nests

The idea is that the squirrels will make themselves comfortable in the nesting boxes over the next few weeks, eating the food provided there. Then, when the contented squirrels are settled in, all the escape hatches will be closed one night and the animals trundled off to Prince William Forest Park in Quantico, Virginia.

No one is so crass as to call the nesting boxes traps; relocation is viewed by park officials as the most humane way to deal with the squirrel boom.

George Berlacy, public affairs director of National Capitol Parks, a division of the National Park Service, explains what caused the squirrel problem. "Visitation has been poor in the park, we've had a muggy, ugly summer, a lousy winter, and a not very good spring. So the lunch bunch, the people who usually ate in the park, tended to eat inside."

Less visitors meant a peanut drought for the squirrels, who then turned to other food.

No 'squirrel lobby'

There does not appear to be a squirrel lobby in Washington, although there have been half a dozen phone calls to Mr. Berlacy's office from people protesting the removal of certain fluffy-tailed favorites. "We're braced for more calls," says the park official. He may get them.

Nearly a quarter century ago, the Washington Star notes, there was a great squirrel imbroglio surrounding President Eisenhower's wish to have his White House putting green de-squirrelled. His aides tried high-pitched electronic noises to frighten them away, then a special Army Signal Corp recording of anti-squirrel sounds, but neither worked and finally relocation was attempted.

But Democratic Sen. Richard Neuberger of Oregon started a "Save the White House Squirrels Fund" which amassed \$100 in three days. So President Eisenhower, with a sigh, picked up his maul and nibbled again and left the White House squirrels alone.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Rhodesia: Right-wing withers as elections draw near

By Tony Hawkins
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia
The right-wing challenge to Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith in the Aug. 31 general election is collapsing as Mr. Smith promises the country's 250,000 whites an "internal" settlement.

When the election was called, the right-wing Rhodesia Action Party, spearheaded by 12 former members of Mr. Smith's own ruling Rhodesian Front, seemed poised to win 10 of the 50 seats reserved for whites in the Rhodesian House of Assembly.

But as the campaign gathers momentum, it is becoming increasingly evident that the Action Party is making little impact and that Mr. Smith, who has won all 50 white seats in three previous elections, might do that again.

To all intents and purposes Mr. Smith has turned his back on the Anglo-American settlement package finally agreed to in recent talks in London between U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and British Foreign Secretary David Owen.

South African Foreign Minister P. W. Botha, who attended the London talks, met with Mr. Smith Aug. 18 in Rhodesia to brief him on the Anglo-American proposals.

Wherever he addresses campaign meetings, the Prime Minister ridicules these proposals. He especially scorns suggestions that the militant Patriotic Front, led by guerrilla leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, be invited

to participate in the settlement and that their guerrillas, called "terrorists" by Rhodesian whites, be "integrated" into the Rhodesian security forces. Mr. Smith draws gasps of incredulity from his audience as he slams this "bizarre" proposal and wins loud applause when he tells his audience that there is "no way" that he will accept it.

All the signs are that the 50,000 to 60,000 white Rhodesians who go to the polls Aug. 31 will maintain their faith in Premier Smith, despite his rejection of the settlement.

Mr. Smith declared unilateral independence from Britain. Since then he has been involved in numerous settlement attempts, all of which have foundered.

White Rhodesian voters, however, appear to have short memories. At the hustings in 1974 Prime Minister Smith promised no talks with "terrorists," no sellout to the British, but an "internal agreement" with moderate blacks. Just over three years later he is offering a similar package. As the election date draws nearer, Mr. Smith insists that he is increasingly pessimistic about the "external" settlement offered by Britain and the United States, but increasingly optimistic about his "internal" plan to settle with moderate black leaders.

Although Mr. Smith's pessimism about the Anglo-American talks is understandable, his optimism about the internal agreement is difficult to comprehend.

The British and U.S. Governments have made it perfectly clear that they will not recognize such an agreement. And the signs here are that no nationalist leader with real support among the blacks is prepared to participate on Mr. Smith's terms.

These terms have been spelled out with considerable clarity by government ministers during the election campaign. Moderate blacks — by which is meant the Rev. Ndabengile Sithole, who leads the African National Council, and

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Middle East

U.S. takes another look at Mr. Begin

By Jason Morris
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv, Israel
The United States is building its Middle East policy on the belief that Premier Menahem Begin will show flexibility on the territorial issue if the Arab states make a sincere and credible peace offer.

This attitude, optimistic though it may seem, transcends the momentary disagreements between Washington and Jerusalem over such steps as establishing more Jewish settlements in the West Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Strip, diplomatic sources here say.

It fits into the current American diplomatic effort to get Egypt, Jordan, and Syria to commit themselves unequivocally to signing formal peace treaties with Israel as the ultimate Arab response to the troop and territorial withdrawals being asked of the Israelis.

In their intense and relentless attempt to nudge the Middle East conflict toward a settlement, American diplomats have been studying Menahem Begin's personality, his ideological background, and domestic political relationships. And, judging from their positive conclusions and ability to explain if not condone some of the right-wing Likud Party leader's more

controversial acts, they like the man and tend to trust him.

The main channel through which the U.S. has been getting to know Mr. Begin is newly assigned Ambassador Samuel Lewis, who decided it was better to befriend Mr. Begin than to enter into a diplomatic confrontation with him.

Mr. Lewis learned that the Likud tradition in Israeli politics, founded mainly on the writings of its greatest ideologue, the late Zeev Jabotinsky, was that the Arab population of the Jewish state of the future must be equal participants with its Jews in developing the country for their common benefit.

This knowledge could explain the relatively mild State Department and White House reaction to the Israeli Cabinet's announcement Aug. 14 that it was equalizing health, welfare, and other services in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Another conclusion that affected the U.S. attitude was that Israel was acting on the theory that it will be in control of and responsible for these areas for a considerable time and that therefore it cannot let them lag behind the living standards of the rest of Israel.

It was only the timing of the plan to set up three more Jewish settlements in the West Bank, announced Aug. 17 three days after the equalization move, that prompted the State Department to include both subjects in its critical comments.

The overall feeling in American diplomatic circles here is much different than the pessimistic tone of the media that developed the final stages of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's latest Mideast shuttle.

One non-Israeli diplomatic source went as far as to estimate that Mr. Vance actually nudged the two sides "15 percent closer to peace" and stressed that President Carter's decision to confer with the Israeli and Arab foreign ministers next month, backstopping Mr. Vance's talks with them, shows how determined he is to arrive at a Middle East settlement.

The source, who spoke authoritatively about Mr. Begin's recent meeting with President Carter, said the Prime Minister did not promise to halt Jewish settlement of the West Bank. The President would have liked to get such a commitment but did not. Considering Mr. Begin's political following this was too much to expect, the source said.

The latest statements by Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan indicate that Israel will continue to allow new Jewish settlements in captured Arab lands. "I do not think the government will stop new settlements," Mr. Dayan said, adding that he wants "unrestricted settlement wherever suitable land is available and there are settlers who want to take up residency there."

Arabs weigh Red Sea security

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens
Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam's appeal for his people to mobilize against a combined Somali-Eritrean-Arab attack came as the war in Northeast Africa's Horn sent shock waves out far beyond the combat zone.

• The Arab League Foreign Ministers Council is to meet in Cairo Sept. 3 to consider setting up a permanent Arab security force to confront dangers to the security of the strategic Red Sea. The force would consist of 6,000 officers and men drawn from all league members.

(Somalia is the only non-Arab member of the Arab League. Arab observers would view such a force as new support by the league for Somalia's efforts to regain lost Somali territories, including Djibouti and northern Kenya.)

• United States policymakers are thought to be carefully weighing consequences of any subsequent Somali moves against Kenya's northern frontier territory, claimed as part of the historic Somali homeland. The U.S. Navy from time to time uses facilities at Mombasa, Kenya, and the United States approves of Kenya's free-enterprise economy and pro-Western leadership. Since losing its shore facilities at the Jufayr naval station in the Persian

Gulf state of Bahrain July 1, the U.S. considers Indian Ocean ports more important strategically.

• Arab supporters of the Eritrean rebellion in northern Ethiopia are concerned about disunity of the four main Eritrean factions. Osman Saleh Sabbe, the Eritrean leader best known in the West, warned recently against civil war similar to the Angolan war in which international parties may become entangled, hindering Eritrea's independence at the last minute.

Colonel Mengistu claimed that Syrian and Iraqi troops, Sudanese volunteers, and Saudi Arabian funds and oil are actively helping the Eritrean insurgents and an open invasion by Somali regular troops.

The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) has denied that Syrian or Iraqi troops are helping it — despite the Ethiopian claim to have downed 18 Somali MIG-21 jet fighters in the last month of combat.

Shortly before Colonel Mengistu's appeal, the radio in Mogadishu, the Somali capital, accused the Soviet Union, which still supplies Somalia's military needs, of taking a provocative attitude in the fighting. The radio commentary said that if Cuban troops, as reported, actually did arrive to aid Ethiopia, Somalia was committed to wipe out those aiding colonialism.

Arabs may change tactics

By Helena Cobban
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon
U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's apparent lack of success in his recent Mideastern mission and the unyielding stance displayed by the Israelis during and since that mission may lead to basic changes in some Arab policies and alignments, according to many observers here.

They consider that Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are likely to be the first Arab parties to change away from reliance, on an American-sponsored Mideast settlement.

Other Arab parties such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia are thought to be too deeply committed to the American peace process to show any such swing at this stage.

The "Arabs of the peaceful settlement," as prominent Beirut columnist Michel Abu Jaidah calls these latter states, have been trying hard to neutralize the American attitude on the Arabs and the Israelis.

But they have in the process, he writes, bargained away their military option, their friendship with the Soviets, and their ability to use the oil weapon — and thus have no means left to exert pressure on Israel or the United States.

The Palestinians, however, have reacted to Israel's hardened policy in the occupied territories by stepping up their armed operations

inside all Israeli-administered areas.

Preparations for this escalation have apparently been going ahead since shortly after Israeli Premier Menahem Begin's election victory in May. But one PLO official told me that the recent announcement of the decision was deliberately timed. He said it marked a decisive weakening of the influence within guerrilla ranks of those Palestinians prepared to cooperate in an American-sponsored settlement.

"The Americans wanted us to recognize Security Council [Resolution] 242, renounce our

arms, and even then there would be no guarantee they would put pressure on the Israelis. We've seen in the past few days just what a bad deal that would be for us."

In the view of a leftist newspaper editor here, however, the pro-American faction inside the PLO would still be prepared to make concessions such as recognizing Israel, on condition that the United States give public support to the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Syria, too, despite an unofficially expressed disappointment over Mr. Vance's lack of achievement, is apparently prepared to give the American peace process one further chance.

A senior Western diplomat told this correspondent in Damascus that the Syrians now are laying less stress than before on the "end-of-1977" deadline for the resumption of the Geneva conference and are expressing sympathy for Mr. Carter's problems in dealing with the American Jewish lobby.

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From page 1

★ Vance's Peking diary

"Normalization [of relations between the United States and China] is the goal of that policy," Mr. Vance declared in his toast at the evening banquet.

On August 23 Mr. Vance attended an evening acrobatic show.

Meanwhile, another dramatic event was scheduled — an Aug. 24 afternoon meeting with recently rehabilitated Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping.

Together these two developments tell much about the changing cultural and political scene in China.

The unpolitical gyrations of the dancers inside the acrobatic-show lions symbolized a newly free cultural atmosphere and tolerance of artistic tradition.

The expected meeting between Mr. Teng and Mr. Vance marks a return to foreign-policy responsibilities for the pragmatic Chinese administrator, who won restoration to all his official posts for the second time only a few weeks ago.

During earlier visits here by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and former President Richard M. Nixon, the American visitors were treated to performances of highly political "revolutionary operas." This time, the bill of fare at the evening performance in the Great Hall of the People was of traditional Chinese favorites instead.

Chinese and foreign, the audience clapped and laughed at the dancing, juggling, magic acts, and gymnastic feats. Not a single political slogan was sung or read during the entire evening.

"It's 'Tengism' rampant," chuckled one Western diplomat.

Since the purge of the so-called "gang of four" last fall, China has experimented with cultural liberalization. The rehabilitation of Mr. Teng, dismissed as a "rightist" by the late Mao Tse-tung in April, 1976, is expected to strengthen efforts by the new leadership here to win popularity with the people by, among other things, allowing them the entertainment they enjoy.

Mr. Teng's scheduled meeting with Secretary Vance could lead to growing responsibilities for the re-emergent veteran Chinese leader. Mr. Teng studied in France and is relatively experienced in dealing with foreigners.

However, analysts here caution against any conclusion that a Teng-Vance meeting would signify progress in the talks. A meeting with

Mr. Teng or someone of equivalent stature would be expected even if the meetings snag, it is noted.

As of this writing, discussion of bilateral issues affecting China and the U.S. had only just begun. But in general the talks so far have been serious, businesslike, and free from the recriminations that have sometimes marked earlier American-Chinese exchanges, informed sources say.

Most of the five hours of talks so far have been taken up by Secretary Vance's general exposition of American policy in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa. The Chinese are described as especially interested in U.S. policy toward southern Africa, and are asking intelligent, informed questions on the matter.

After 2½ hours Aug. 23, the talks were recessed in the afternoon at the request of the Chinese side.

Reuter reported Aug. 23 that the Americans clearly were hoping for a more substantial Chinese contribution to the talks when they resumed Aug. 24.

(The Chinese sat silently through the first session Aug. 22, but State Department spokesman Hocking Carter III said some questions had been asked of Mr. Vance Aug. 23 when he dealt with Africa and Latin America.)

(The Chinese, who backed one of the losing factions in Angola, have bitterly assailed Soviet policy in Africa.)

(Mr. Carter said the Chinese had also raised some questions when bilateral affairs came up later. Mr. Vance said he thought the session so far had been "very businesslike, very serious, and very useful," he added.)

(Secretary Vance so far has had no indication that he will be meeting with Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Guo-feng. But one U.S. official said that if there were no meeting with Chairman Hua, it could be considered a serious setback for Mr. Vance and the U.S. hope of gradually improving relations with the world's largest country.)

(In another development, China published a new Communist Party constitution Aug. 23 that lays heavy stress on discipline but offers increased freedom of speech within the party.)

(The constitution, published by the New China News Agency, sets economic development as a major goal and includes provisions designed to prevent further outbreaks of political factionalism.)

From page 1

★ Mideast: U.S. diplomats

ing to make it so, in defiance of the position which the U.S. Government has consistently maintained in all its official actions throughout the entire history of the State of Israel. It cuts straight across President Carter's formula for a peace settlement in the Middle East. That formula calls for a homeland for Palestinian Arab refugees. That homeland always has been assumed by American diplomats to mean the West Bank.

Does this mean that the Prime Minister of Israel and the President of the United States are on a collision course? No, say American diplomats. Mr. Begin, they suggest, is a wise and moderate man who knows that in the long run Israel will benefit more from a settlement with its Arab neighbors than from continued hostility. When the time comes Mr. Begin will, they suggest, make those concessions without which no peace settlement is possible.

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With so much domestic political resistance



White South Africans go one way, blacks pull another

From page 1

★ South Africa and the bomb

may have been a defensive one, following a rebuttal in Tanzania to the French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud by Tanzanian demonstrators protesting French arms supplies to South Africa.

Cynicism has developed in black Africa over French promises to cut its arms supplies to South Africa, promises made several times during the past few years.

It is worth noting that the French allegations coincided with the opening in Nigeria of a United Nations conference against apartheid. French newspapers have pointedly noted that France is more dependent on South Africa (for uranium) than South Africa is on France (for trade markets).

Even if South Africa should explode an atomic weapon, the bomb would be of almost no use militarily. As the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Andrew Young, said when he was in South Africa earlier this year, it would do no good to drop a bomb on Soweto, the black township near Johannesburg where political unrest has continued for more than a year. And in the end, the main challenge to the South African Government lies in Soweto with its urban blacks.

The explosion of an atomic bomb probably would damage current Western negotiations over Rhodesia. But hope is not high anyway that the negotiations will work this time when they have failed so many times before.

Negotiations over South-West Africa, or Namibia, on the other hand, are much more hopeful. There appears to be more conciliation from both extremes — from the so-called Turnhalle groups which is basically pro-South Africa and from the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Informed analysts think Namibia could slowly be moved toward independence and a black government. But they describe Rhodesia as a tougher nut to crack.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith is due to fly to South Africa for talks with Prime Minister John Vorster Aug. 27. But it is thought highly doubtful that South Africa will apply the pressure necessary to get Mr. Smith to step down from office and make room for a black government.

This refusal by South Africa to apply pressure has baffled analysts as it only increases the likelihood of a Rhodesian civil war.

Besides apartheid, another aspect of South Africa's approach to politics is called "krugadigheid," which can be described as a vigorous display of toughness when challenged.

This may be the motivating force behind the continuing atomic bomb scare from South Africa.

But the overwhelming question remains just how far the ruling Afrikaners (South Africans of Dutch descent) will carry their kragdadigheid.

U.S. bows to Greek pressure

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Athens
The United States has reluctantly yielded to pressure generated by anti-American Greek newspapers, and acceded to Prime Minister Constantinos Karamanlis' request not to send new U.S. Ambassador William Schaefele to Greece.

The State Department has not canceled Mr. Schaefele's appointment, but it has said he will not be coming to Athens in the foreseeable future.

The row over Mr. Schaefele, former assistant secretary of state for African affairs, began with his routine appearance, before confirmation by the U.S. Senate, to testify to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Washington. Asked about the Greek-Turkish dispute in the Aegean Sea area, Mr. Schaefele replied, according to the transcript released here: "The problem is due to an unusual arrangement of geography. Greece owns territory very close to the Turkish coast. This ownership is based on long-standing international agreements."

The mass circulation Athens newspaper To Vima translated Mr. Schaefele's phrases as "an unusual settlement" and "a geographic peculiarity." This led to an outcry here that Mr. Schaefele supported Turkey's position in the Aegean.

Fearing anti-American demonstrations if Mr. Schaefele arrived on schedule in August, the Greek Government asked that the Ambassador not be sent to Greece because "his effectiveness would be limited."

Middle East

Carter's offers to Palestinians

Behind-scenes steps
augur Mideast shift

By Mark A. Bruzonsky
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Months of behind-the-scenes diplomacy between the Carter administration and the PLO Liberation Organization may be resulting in a basic change in the framework of Middle East diplomacy.

If the PLO finally agrees to coexistence with Israel and acceptance of UN Security Council Resolution 242 (with the understanding that Palestinian national rights now are recognized), the United States is prepared to begin direct discussions with the PLO leading to an invitation to a Geneva conference.

Sooner than anyone expected, the Palestinians may be offered a role in Middle East diplomacy, even over the objections of Israel. When and if this does occur, much doubt will be removed about the Carter administration's determination to reach the kind of Middle East settlement the President has outlined and about its seriousness in promoting the establishment of a Palestinian homeland in territories now occupied by Israel.

Before Secretary of State Cyrus Vance left on his recent Middle East trip, President Carter and Mr. Vance took the gigantic step of making an offer that important groups within the divided PLO — with Yasser Arafat in the lead — are finding difficult to refuse.

At his July 28 press conference, a week after Israeli Premier Menachem Begin's departure from the U.S., President Carter made a statement about the Palestinian issue nearly as important as his March bombshell about the need for a "Palestinian homeland." "The major stumbling block" to recognizing the Geneva conference, President Carter said, "is the participation of the Palestinian representative." Then he emphatically stated, "We will discuss" matters with the Palestinians if they will agree to recognize and coexist with Israel.

The President and other high government officials had already taken the gigantic step of often using "PLO" and "Palestinians" interchangeably. Mr. Carter added that if the Palestinians were forthcoming the U.S. would advo-

cate "participation by them at peace negotiations."

The next day, July 29, Mr. Vance underscored the President's offer to the Palestinians. When asked whether he might meet with any members of the PLO during his trip, he purposefully left the door open, saying, "I do not expect that there will be any meeting with the PLO during this trip." The reason, he said, was that "there has yet been no suggestion by the PLO that they are prepared to do the things which President Carter outlined." Without such a Palestinian decision, Mr. Vance noted, the administration felt "constrained" by previous agreements with Israel from bringing the Palestinians into negotiations.

Mr. Carter re-emphasized his offer to the Palestinians in an interview with Time magazine that appeared the day Mr. Vance arrived in Alexandria, Egypt. "If the Palestinian leaders adopted that position [acceptance of Israel's existence] or espoused the UN Resolutions 242 and 338 as a basis for negotiations at Geneva, we would immediately commence plans to begin talks with the Palestinian leaders. I hope Mr. Begin would accept that [the participation of some Palestinian leaders at Geneva]." Is the way Time quotes the President (with the bracketed phrases included), Mr. Carter concluded, "But I don't have any way to predict what Mr. Begin would do."

But should the Palestinians finally take steps to meet these two conditions (or possibly only one if the President's use of the word "or" instead of "and" in the Time interview is significant), the U.S. now is publicly pledged to bring the PLO into the diplomatic process, no matter what the Israeli position.

What specific measures on the part of the PLO would be sufficient and exactly how the U.S. would respond are the subjects of intensive behind-the-scenes maneuvering that involved Ambassador William W. Scranton's "unofficial" meetings with PLO leaders in July. A visit by a PLO person to the U.S. just before Mr. Vance's departure, and the intervention of numerous intermediaries explaining to both sides what the other side is demanding.

What is happening now must be credited to shrewd and subtle diplomacy by President Carter and his Middle East team in the National Security Council and the State Department. Though Mr. Begin's recent visit to Washington did establish a cordial atmosphere with Israel,

it did not, and could not, alter basic political realities. Previous Israeli governments had insisted on coordinating policy with the U.S. — thrashing out differences when necessary until some compromise position was reached. The price Mr. Begin paid for his Washington "success" was to let the U.S. off this hook of coordination. Now there is a friendly "agreement to disagree." And it is a new situation, which Mr. Carter is acting quickly to exploit.

Some analysts believe the PLO has already sent signals that should be considered satisfactory in response to American urgings. But these gestures have not been sufficient. In American government eyes, to merit the major step under consideration by Washington, willingness to go to Geneva, as declared in March by the Palestine National Council, and elimination of the "rejection front" representatives from the PLO Executive Committee have been deemed positive but inadequate.

Likewise, circuitous statements by Mr. Arafat to U.S. journalists and congressional representatives have not been adequate, partly because they are insufficient for the American administration to use with the Congress and with public opinion — two areas from which Mr. Carter rightly fears vehement challenges when the U.S. becomes formally involved with the PLO.

The message Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd brought from Mr. Arafat to Mr. Carter in May — that the PLO understands U.S. policy and is prepared for mutual recognition with Israel when and if the Geneva conference unfolds — also has been helpful, though not decisive.

Yet all these efforts combined have awakened the Carter administration to the possibility (maybe even likelihood) that a more explicit and more definite offer from Washington could tilt the scales within the PLO toward those advocating the historical step of Israeli recognition from those arguing against reliance on the Americans and against the idea of a West Bank-Gaza Strip Palestinian state.

Also, developments during the past few months have resulted in a more flexible position by the Carter administration. The President is not demanding complete PLO acceptance of Resolutions 242 and 338, nor immediate revisions in the Palestine National Covenant.

Vice-President Walter Mondale, in his important Middle East speech in June, stressed that



PLO's Yasser Arafat

"Resolution 242 does not by itself provide all that is required." And the President and Secretary of State have been most careful not to specify formal changes in the covenant as the requirement before U.S.-Palestinian discussions can begin — a mistake Mr. Vance was pressured into making back in February during his first visit to Israel.

It is likely a clear statement by the PLO's Executive Committee that coexistence is the goal would get the process started at this point. Such a step on the part of the PLO would be excruciatingly difficult; but then, what the U.S. has in mind has rather serious domestic political risks for Mr. Carter as well.

Shortly after the presidential election, Mr. Arafat had sent two PLO representatives to attempt to work out an agreement with the U.S. whereby the Palestine National Council meeting in March would make major ideological and political concessions in return for a U.S. commitment to deal with the PLO and to support Palestinian self-determination.

Had Mr. Carter responded to Mr. Arafat's efforts at that time it might have been translated into more moderate attitudes in the 19-point political declaration issued by the Palestine National Council.

Mark A. Bruzonsky is an associate editor of Worldview magazine.

Too many U.S. bureaucrats chase overseas trade

By Guy Halverson
Business and financial correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Lawmakers here are pondering what could be a significant step in United States efforts to boost domestic exports: creation of a new cabinet-level department for international trade.

The bipartisan legislation — sponsored by Sens. Abraham Ribicoff (D) of Connecticut and William Roth (R) of Delaware — comes against a backdrop of mounting concern over the huge U.S. trade deficit, now expected to soar to some \$25 billion this year. Also deeply troubling many lawmakers here is rising protectionism — restrictive trade policies — in Europe and Asia.

But at the same time, according to legislative analysts, the push for a trade department (which has been broached on and off now for the past several decades) is almost certain to trigger an intense political struggle. Many federal departments and agencies dealing with trade are already known to be quietly resisting efforts toward consolidation into one "super" trade agency.

"It's going to be the battle to establish the [cabinet-level] Energy Department all over again, and most likely even worse," argues one veteran Congressional aide working with the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. "All the established agencies now dealing with trade are going to fight like the dickens to preserve their little sanctuaries," he argues.

Says an aide to Senator Roth: "We don't even know for certain how many agencies and departments are involved with overseas trade." According to the aide, the Library of Congress, despite access to records pertaining to all existing federal agencies, "is not even certain about the total number of departments involved."

Currently, main U.S. agencies dealing with international trade are the Office of the President's Special Trade Representative, a cabinet level post, plus the Commerce Department, Treasury, State Department, the Export-Import Bank (Eximbank), and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

But trade experts here note that this is only the "beginning" of the list. Even the Depart-

ment of Housing and Urban Development reportedly has had an overseas trade role of sorts, although on a modest scale.

Senator Roth is the most outspoken advocate for such a new "super" cabinet level department. He calls the present "fragmented" system an absurdity.

"We can no longer afford the present chaos," he argues. Senator Roth says the variety of agencies and departments now dealing with U.S. overseas commerce was "inherited from an earlier era when international trade was of marginal importance to our total economy and U.S. technological advantages and the strength of the dollar ensured us a dominant role in international trade."

Under the Nixon administration, it is recalled here, a special White House "coordinating" agency, the Council on International Economic Policy was set up to serve as a "lead" or "study" group in overseeing the whole trade picture. Using "lead" agencies or teams, which act as coordinating bodies, is a standard practice in Washington when a number of departments deal with various aspects of a common issue.

The authority of the trade council, however, gradually was diluted during the Ford presidency, and the council is slated to be folded under Carter administration reorganization plans.

For its part, the new administration has not yet taken any formal stance on a proposed new trade department, although it is well aware of the pending legislation.

Critics of the proposal, some of whom are reluctant to speak out publicly before Congress officially has opened hearings, argue that a super cabinet-level trade department would do more harm than good. On the other hand, they argue, such a body would most likely become heavily "politicized," since it would be the central voice for trade policies within the United States. Critics argue that the agency would likely be under heavy pressures to back protectionist policies. At the same time, according to critics, some trade functions would have to be kept outside the new agency — the State Department, for example — so policy would continue to be fragmented.

Hearings on the legislation are expected sometime early next year before the Governmental Affairs Committee.

To the rescue: endangered species sell insurance

By Paul Van Slambrouck
Business and financial writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

In insurance industry jargon, the rare and diminishing snow leopard — which has been on the endangered-species list since the late 1960s — is an "uninsurable risk."

The label is provided by William Goodall Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of Allendale Mutual Insurance Company, one of the nation's largest insurers of industrial property.

Nonetheless, Mr. Goodall has made a small investment in the leopard's future. The investment came in the form of a corporate contribution to help finance an expedition by San Francisco wildlife biologist Rodney M. Jackson to western Nepal to learn more about the snow leopard.

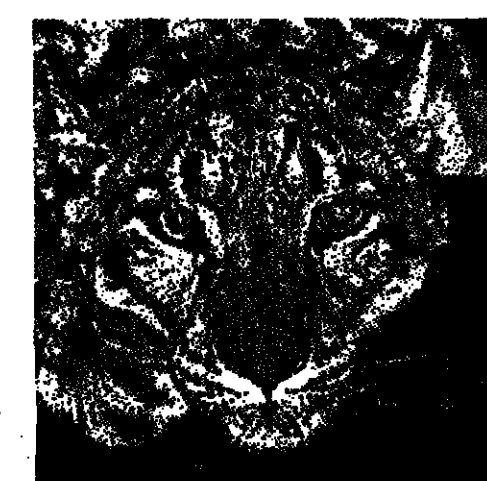
The expedition has proved a timely reminder that the plight of the animal is worsening. So

much so that Mr. Jackson fears "the snow leopard could be extinct in 3 to 5 years if the current widespread hunting is not stopped."

Allendale's unusual involvement in this conservation project is tied to the marked success of the company's two-year-old advertising campaign, built around the theme of wildlife conservation. The snow leopard was one of several endangered species featured in the ads.

Mr. Jackson first saw the snow leopard ad in July, 1976, and sent Mr. Goodall a letter requesting \$2,500 in financial assistance. The money was to go to an already planned four-month expedition that was short of funds. Mr. Goodall granted the request, reasoning that "we owe the snow leopard at least this much."

Allendale was first presented with the notion of using wildlife conservation as an advertising theme in 1975 by its ad agency. The ads were to liken Allendale's efforts to conserve pro-



Snow leopard — still hunted

banned in 1973 by countries ratifying the International Convention on Trade and Endangered Animals and Plants. However, the practice continues in other countries. Mr. Jackson attributes the animal's increasing endangerment to the continuing practice of trading their pelts. He estimates a fur will cost \$400 in a pelt sold in the countries where it is hunted. This price escalates into "many thousands of dollars" after it is exported and turned into a fashionable coat.

Carcass found

On his trip Mr. Jackson found the carcass of a male snow leopard that had been killed by hunters, as well as a pelt in one of the villages. But perhaps most disturbing were the widespread signs of hunting. As he roamed the mountain trails of the leopard, Mr. Jackson was continually coming across traps for it — large spears anchored in the ground, with poisoned tips pointing upward upon which the animal could easily impale itself when descending difficult terrain.

Mr. Jackson sent a detailed report of his findings with recommendations on how to curtail the hunting to the Nepalese Government, but he is not optimistic about its effect. He cites the political difficulty of the government's intervening in local hunting practices.

Surprisingly, Mr. Jackson found little local animosity toward the snow leopard, which he had supposed accounted for the local hunting practice. Rather, he found indifference. The only real interest in the cat was on the part of hunters, who see it as an important source of income as well as a challenge to their hunting skills.

Mr. Jackson is being retained by the Rare Animal Relief Effort, Inc., of New York, which is distributing 2,400 bilingual posters in Pakistan pointing up the danger of extinction of the snow leopard. The posters also point out that exporting pelts from these cats is illegal.

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erty to the efforts of wildlife conservationists. The concept was initiated in 1976 in a quarter-million-dollar ad campaign that has "been more successful than I ever thought insurance advertising could be," Mr. Goodall notes.

The upshot has been a contribution to a conservation effort that has no monetary payoff to the company.

Only 1,000 left? The expedition took Mr. Jackson and a band of Sherpas into rugged Himalayan terrain where the nocturnal leopard still roams. Mr. Jackson estimates that only 1,000 of the smoky-gray cats are left in the wilds. He says their habitat ranges from southern Siberia to Tibet and Nepal and throughout much of China.

The demise of the snow leopard was dramatically illustrated by Mr. Jackson's findings: No live leopards were seen but there were plenty of indications that hunting of the animal was widespread.

Trading furs of endangered animals was

Mr. Jackson is being retained by the Rare Animal Relief Effort, Inc., of New York, which is distributing 2,400 bilingual posters in Pakistan pointing up the danger of extinction of the snow leopard. The posters also point out that exporting pelts from these cats is illegal.

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day interbank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (p) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	French Franc	German Mark	Italian Lira	Japanese Yen	Swiss Franc
New York	1.0000	2.4566	6.5595	3.3757	2036.26	360.71	1.4756
London	0.4167	1.0000	2.4835	1.9363	125.49	254.35	0.6557
Frankfurt	0.1524	0.4083	1.0000	0.3543	233.76	480.33	0.2436
Paris	0.1524	0.4083	1.0000	0.3543	233.76	480.33	0.2436
Geneva	0.1524	0.4083	1.0000	0.3543	233.76	480.33	0.2436
Brussels	0.1524	0.4083	1.0000	0.3543	233.76	480.33	0.2436
Zurich	0.1524	0.4083	1.0000	0.3543	233.76	480.33	0.2436

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: 0.024; Australian dollar: 1.026; Danish krone: 1.666; Italian lira: 2036.26; Japanese yen: 360.71; New Zealand dollar: 0.699; South African rand: 1.1655. Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

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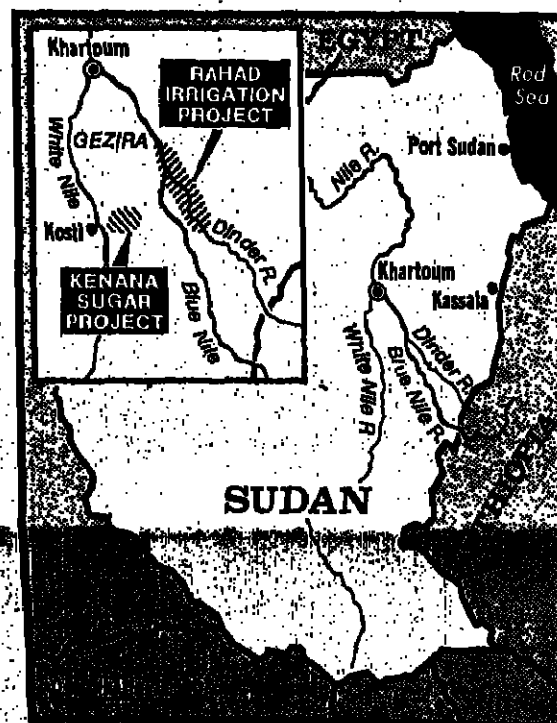
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Sudan's hidden treasure

In the midst of a vast desert, where the Blue Nile and the White Nile meet, Sudan holds a treasure — the world's best soil. Foreign investors are keen to develop this agricultural potential. A canal already flows to a sugar plantation and there are plans to irrigate tenant



All foot, hoof, paw, and claw prints go in one direction in rural Sudan.

To water.

The trails drift like web threads across the chocolate-brown dust around Kosti.

Recently, however, the centuries-old trails have changed. For there is new water — or, rather, old water made new.

The muted green water of the White Nile in May this year rolled into a 25-kilometer (15.5-mile) canal leading to a new sugar plantation. And now trails crisscross along the compacted banks of the canal down to the water.

Local nomads who, in their loose jellabias (ankle-length outer garments), have combed this land with their goats and camels for centuries, do not like the new Kenana sugar plantation. But they have no choice because the Sudan Government views Kenana as being for the overall good of the country.

For, next to the concept of unity (in a country the size of a third of the United States and with nearly 600 different tribes), the idea of development has taken Sudan by storm.

Concerned over people

However, at the crux of a debate raging among many Sudanese about the Arab money pouring into Sudan, is a typically Sudanese concern — the people element.

Sudanese are asking if all this money and these changes will ruin the famous hospitable character of the Sudanese.

Longtime Western observers cannot really explain this special Sudanese quality of tolerance and concern for people, but they all acknowledge it. Maybe it is a combination of the best of both the Arab and the African worlds, some say.

While the Sudanese debate, the imagination of the Arabs — especially the Kuwaitis and Saudi Arabians — has been fired by the concept of turning Sudan into the main source of food for the Arab world.

Not only are the Arabs seeking secure investments against the time when they run out of oil, but also they want a closer source of food than Europe, since they can grow little in their own sands.

Sudan, too, has its vast and creeping sands, but right in the heart of the aridity is a treasure — the world's best soil.

The triangle of land formed by the confluence of the Blue Nile (which starts in Ethiopia) and the White Nile (which starts in Uganda) is composed of centuries of silt carried down by the Blue Nile.

Best soil anywhere?

"I don't think you'll find better soil in the world," said Graham Lester, head of the agricultural section of Kenana sugar project.

Blue Nile soil is more plastic than the White Nile's. It can crack to a depth of 1½ meters to let in water and then seal up. It is ideal for making canals, since it sticks together well.

Most important, the soil can be irrigated for more than 50 years and still retain its high quality.

Has nobody known about this treasure? Oh yes. When the British were administrators in the Sudan in the '20s, Sir Murdoch MacDonald established the Gezira scheme in this Nile triangle south of the capital of Khartoum.

Gezira is a gravity flow irrigation scheme which produces Sudan's famous cotton. It was developed by Sir Murdoch's company, Ismailia Canal Navigation Co., Ltd.

Now, the Kenana project, which, along with the Gezira, could well determine the development future of Sudan.

Nomads settling down

The Rahad scheme, with foreign aid and government investment of \$250 million, will use pumped irrigation from the Blue Nile's waters.

Similar to Gezira, and benefiting from the nomads' acquaintance with Gezira, Rahad will make possible tenant farming of cotton, peanuts, and fodder.

Around Rahad the nomads are flocking to become ten-

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

ants, believing their lives will be guaranteed water for their crops. Before, they scratched on the earth, planted, and hoped for rain. Maalla (the Arabic word meaning "God willing").

This attitude, and "Maalla" ("I'm not matter" or "Don't worry"), is one that often frustrates energetic Westerners.

For example, the Britons at Ken who in only 20 months have built an enormous dam with sugar cane waving greenly on the soil — seem to be more frustrated than the slower, more contracted, workers of Rahad.

One government official explains Rahad may in the long run work better than Ken because "more heads are involved" in the project.

The Kenana managers have been criticized themselves forward in little over a year. The project was until recently managed by Lonhro British. But the startling escalation of the cost of the project (from \$250 million to about \$600 million) had up many involved. The management of Kenana has been technically removed from Lonhro, reportedly at the request of the Kuwaiti investors, but almost all the Lonhro men have remained on the project.

Sugar import a target

With no holds barred on expensive Kenana scheme will have the country's second largest electricity generator (fueled from sugar cane byproducts) and will hopefully eliminate Sudan's import of 300 tons a year of sugar. The Sudanese have a sweet tooth, as was seen in riots in Khartoum when there was a sugar shortage more than a year ago.

In the midst of Sudan's almost boom however, are gigantic problems. Some of the ones involve infrastructure.

Sudan has only 600 kilometers (370 miles) of paved roads, single line railroads, and port clogging at the only port, Port Sudan.

The situation is forcing Arab investors to turn serious attention to infrastructure.

A communications system (telephones, and television) relying on satellites is being built, with 4 out of 14 stations already completed. A road from Port Sudan to Khartoum via Kassa is being built by at least five different overseas countries.

Yet, if Sudan wants to get investment, investment laws must be unified and clarity for foreign investors provided.

Sudanese lured abroad

Also, Sudanese say if the Arabs want to help Sudan boom, something must be done for the thousands of skilled Sudanese who leave every year for better paying jobs in the oil-rich Gulf states. It is so much higher in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Educated Sudanese, and even house servants and others, go to the Gulf to work for a few years and send home.

Salaries may go up naturally now in Sudan, for hanging over the country is the possibility of oil and uranium being discovered.

There are in fact rumors that oil has definitely been found. But Jim Payne, head of Chevron Co. in Sudan, points out that not until full-scale drilling is done.

One thing for sure, he said, is that the government, and not Chevron, which made a discovery of oil.

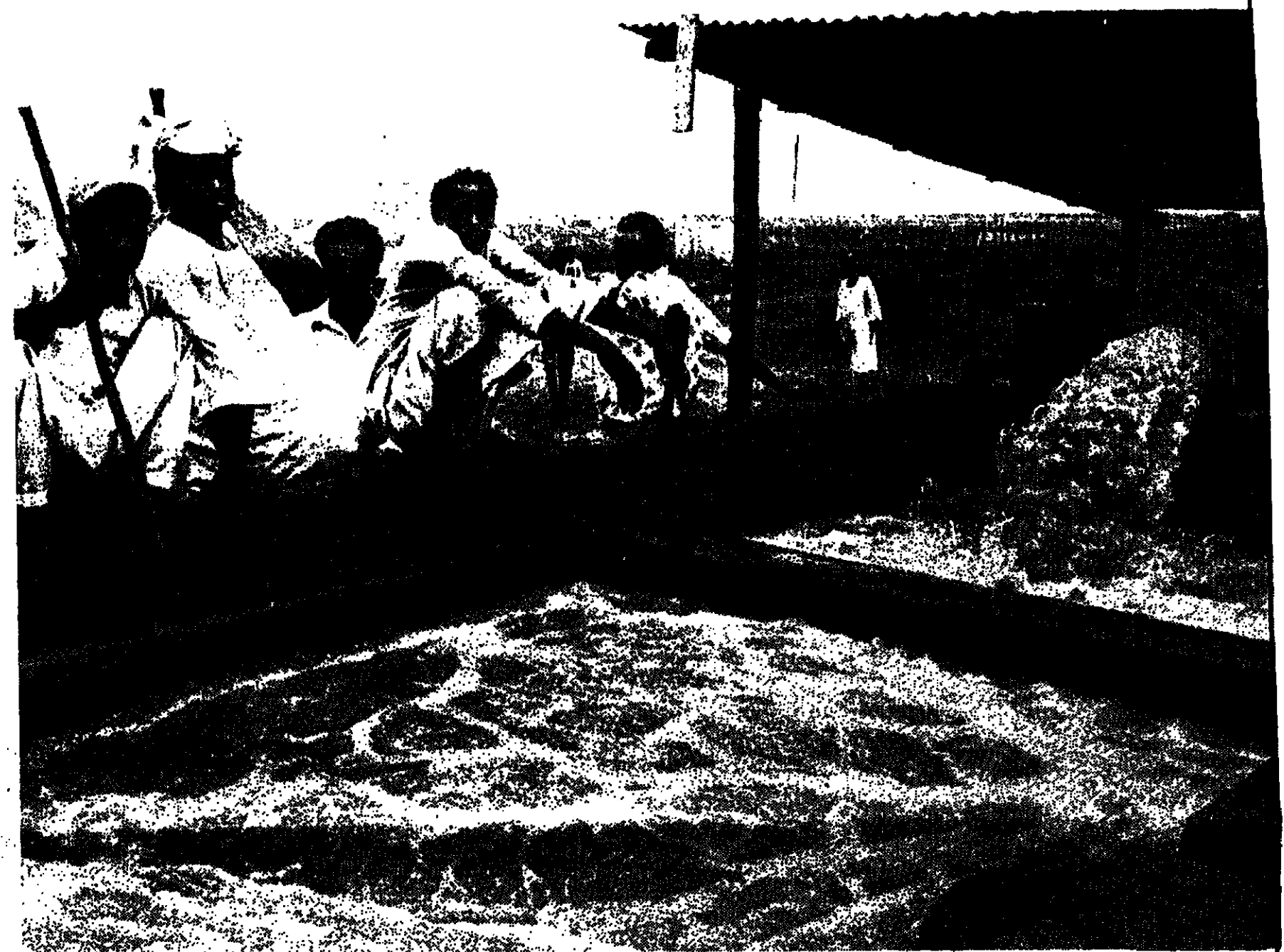
Mr. Payne said that there is a preliminary discovery in central Sudan which could produce more than \$1 million per month to carry out the search.

Mr. Payne notes that while searching for oil is expensive in Sudan if it is found, it will be cheaper than extracting oil from the Red Sea.

Even if oil is not found, the Sudan is moving full speed ahead on agricultural development.

"We are embarking on very rapid steps of development which will reach all corners of the country," said Francis Deng, State Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In fact, development has become a national goal across Sudan, even to the farthest



By William Campbell

Water from White Nile fills canal taking it to sugarcane fields at the Kenana project near Kosti



By Mark Edwards

A typical oasip town in Sudanese desert, where the nomads' traditional trek to water may now end at a canal

sports

Soviets face high hurdles for '80 Olympics

By Larry Eldridge
Sports editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The 1980 Olympics are still three years away, but enthusiasm here in the host city is already so high that a visitor could be excused for thinking they were just around the corner.

Souvenir buttons, pins, and posters are already a standard item in the tourist shops. A big sign proclaiming "Moscow 1980" stands in front of the 103,000-seat Central Lenin Stadium. And Sovetskii Sport, the mass-circulation daily that satisfies the voracious reading appetite of Russia's sports-minded public, is publishing frequent articles on preparations for the Games.

The excitement seems genuine and widespread, as does optimism about the Soviet system's ability to cope with the vast array of problems certain to arise — such as housing, feeding, transporting, and otherwise accommodating the hundreds of thousands of athletes, officials, journalists, and spectators who will descend upon the city.

To Western eyes, however, the shortage of hotels, the backwardness of technical facilities, and the inefficiency of virtually all public services add up to a formidable array of obstacles. In fact when you think of all these logistical problems coupled with the notoriously slow pace and agonizing attention to detail of the Soviet bureaucracy, it is difficult to foresee anything but a mind-boggling nightmare of delays and red tape.

Building an Olympic Village for some 12,000 athletes and officials, and then finding or creating rooms for the inevitable huge influx of other visitors, will undoubtedly present the biggest problem.

In 1974 shortly after Moscow became the first socialist capital to be awarded the Games, the Russians talked in terms of having 20 or more new hotels in the city by 1980. Not too much has happened since then, however, and current signs indicate they will be lucky to erect five or six by that time.

Despite such unpromising signs, Soviet officials insist they will be ready when 1980 arrives — but it is exceedingly difficult to pin them down on exactly how.

"There will be enough room," Leonid Kestler, assistant to the chairman of the organiza-

ing committee, assured me in a brief interview following a press conference on the subject. But he refused to elaborate on what that meant in terms of new construction.

"We don't really know how many tourists we will have," he said. "Right now we're trying to calculate that figure. But until we know, it's hard to plan how many new hotels we need."

The question which immediately comes to mind, of course, is whether they'll still have time to build the hotels after they figure out how many people are coming. I wanted to probe a bit on this point — I also felt like asking him if he'd ever read "Catch-22" — but he conveniently had to leave just then. End of interview.

Other officials who spoke with me (always briefly and in vague, general terms) mentioned such various possibilities as hostels, camping sites, student hotels, and university dormitories, which would be empty during summer vacations. The feeling seemed to exist that somehow, by utilizing all of their resources and perhaps building at least a few new hotels, they could solve the problem.

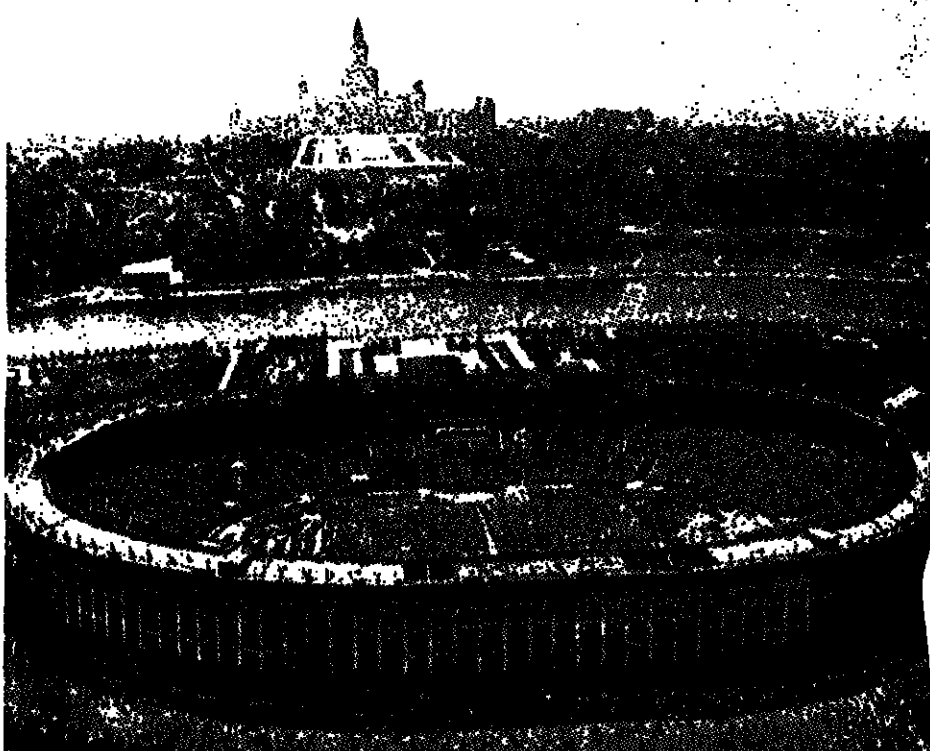
Another area of some concern to Westerners is the restrictive Soviet policy regarding entry visas and movement within the country. Doubts have been raised, for instance, as to the status of athletes and other visitors from countries with which the U.S.S.R. is not on friendly terms, such as Israel or Chile.

But over the years there have been many lesser international competitions in Moscow, so the Russians are well aware that some of their normal rules and procedures must be bent a bit for such occasions. They have insisted all along that they will abide by all the rules of the International Olympic Commission, which state that any member country in good standing with the IOC may compete in the Games, and that anyone regardless of political leaning, color, or creed must be permitted to take part.

In the area of security, of course, the strictness of the Soviet system is an advantage. One never knows when the terrorism which marred or threatened other Games may strike, but it would certainly take a particularly incautious individual or group to try anything along those lines in a country like the U.S.S.R.

In terms of the actual competition, too, Moscow starts out with one big advantage over other recent host cities like Munich and Montreal in that it already has the main stadium and many of the other necessary facilities.

The Central Lenin Stadium is part of the vast Luzhnik sports complex in the southern part of the city which will serve as the hub of the 1980 Games. The opening and closing ceremonies along with competitions in at least 10



Moscow's trump card — its Central Lenin Stadium

sports will be held in these environs, which include in addition to the main stadium a 15,000-seat arena, a 10,000-seat indoor Palace of Sport, a 12,000-seat aquatic center, and various other facilities.

A rowing canal built in 1973 in the Moscow suburb of Krylatskoye and considered one of the finest in the world should provide excellent facilities for that sport. Equestrian events will take place at the Znamenki Riding Hall located in a large Moscow park. Other sites available in and around the city for a variety of competitions include the 58,000-seat Dynamo Stadium, the 43,000-seat Locomotive Stadium, and the sports complex of the Central Army Club.

Russian officials say these existing facilities will be modernized wherever needed, and in addition about 13 new ones are being constructed. Among the new projects are a 45,000-seat indoor stadium (the largest in Europe) for basketball and boxing competition; a cycling track; and an additional swimming center with seats for 10,000.

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Olympics. The yachting races, for instance, will be held off the Estonian city of Tallinn on the Baltic Sea. And some of the early soccer matches will be played in Leningrad, Minsk, and Kiev.

Because of the nature of the Soviet system, the entire project of preparing for the Games is a national effort rather than a largely local one. The Olympic Organizing Committee, for instance, is headed by a deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, Igor Novikov, and includes statesmen, public figures, sports officials, scientists, architects, builders, and executive workers.

With the national government behind the operation, and with things being what they are in the Soviet Union, the Russians know they don't have to worry about such typically Western problems as strikes, political squabbles, and runaway escalation of building costs. All-in-all, the modernization and construction of the competition sites should be the least of Moscow's worries.

As for all the other question marks, one can only wait and see.

It should be an interesting three years for all concerned — leading up to a fascinating two weeks in Moscow in 1980.

Subtle form of child abuse

By Eloise T. Lee

In the following situations have anything in common?

1. You return from a day at work to find your son has gone swimming instead of mowing the grass. As your neighbors are coming for a barbecue, you mow the grass yourself.

2. Relatives let you know they never received thank-you letters from your children for last year's Christmas presents. You distinctly remember telling your children to write the thank-you letters promptly.

3. Your daughter skips summer school, thus forfeiting the credit she needs to make up for a failing grade. You realize the days missed are those on which you had instructed her to walk the four blocks to school because you had early morning errands of your own.

4. You asked your children not to watch a certain television serial, but they watched it anyway while you were busy preparing dinner.

All of these situations sound pretty tame to me, some readers may comment. "What we're scared about is that our kid might be smoking pot or drinking or having sex or shoplifting or planning to run away."

Suppose we substitute those more serious problems; could we still find any behavioral pattern which, if we corrected it, would produce better behavior?

Disobedience? Self-will? Violation of trust?

Peer pressures? Affluence? The media? Parental negligence?

Am I trying to transfer the blame from misbehaving kids to their much-maligned and long-suffering parents?

Dear Parents, there is a reason for asking you to consider possible negligence on your part as the common factor in both "tame" and "serious" misbehavior by your children. After all, if the fault lies within the children (disobedience, self-will, violation of trust) or within the environment (peer pressures, affluence, the media), what hope have you of bringing about the desired change?

If, on the other hand, you accept the possibility (responsibility) that what you yourself do makes any difference, then you can change something you are now doing or do something you have not been doing to gain resulting improvement.

A friend of mine has termed failure to supervise and follow through with children a subtle form of child abuse. Strong term. Stronger even than negligence.

A child who is tempted to do wrong needs the assurance that he will not be permitted to do wrong — that no time or place or situation will be provided (either intentionally or through negligence) which permits him to do wrong.



Fun — but have they done their homework?

To nourish obedience, unselfishness, and trustworthiness in children requires vigilance, constancy, and perseverance on your part. Follow through even when it's inconvenient. Be

there, or appoint someone to substitute for you if you cannot be there. Until a child is an adult, he needs and deserves careful parental supervision.

Record breakers of the plant world

By Peter Tonge

Weymouth, Massachusetts
Clarence Dalloy, of Monona, Wisconsin, knew he had grown a big tomato. But even he was surprised at its weight when the fully-ripe specimen finally broke the vine it grew upon last summer.

It completely covered a dinner plate and it tipped the scales at 8 pounds 8 ounces — transferring the world record



from England (4 pounds 4 ounces) by Charles Roberts of Eastbourne, Sussex, to this side of the Atlantic.

Basically the importance of the vegetable garden is its overall productivity. But there is enough curiosity in all of us to be interested in the biggest, the longest, the heaviest, and the whatever of vegetables around the world. And that curios-

ity will be satisfied soon because Norris McWhirter, co-founder of the Guinness Book of World Records, has launched an international search for the world record-breakers in the plant world. Coordinating the U.S. and Canadian search is Jane Grace, proprietor of Grace's Gardens of Hackettstown, New Jersey.

New Guinness book

The results of this search will appear in a new volume: the Guinness Book of Plant Facts, Feats, and Records, which Mrs. Grace will coauthor.

Mr. McWhirter chose Mrs. Grace for the project because of her long association with the outsized and often outlandish in the plant world. Hers is a small mail-order seed business specializing in giant-sized, rare, and unusual vegetables. Each year she sponsors a \$1,000 beat-the-champ award competed for by thousands of backyard gardeners.

This year the award (\$250 each) is being offered for watermelon, sunflower, squash, and tomatoes.

Naturally a winner in the Grace competition, unless beaten by an overseas

competitor, will end up in both the World Book of Records and in more detailed form in the new publication. Mrs. Grace reserves the right to buy 80 percent of the seed from the specimen winning one of her awards.

Growing guidelines

Genetics, in fact, is one of the keys to growing a record-breaking vegetable. Select a variety known to produce large vegetables, says Mrs. Grace.

Other growing guidelines are:

1. Organic material. Raise the soil's humus content to between 4 and 5 percent by using manure, compost, cover crops, seaweed, etc.

2. Water. Keep plant growth constant by regular watering in dry spells. The new subsurface irrigation techniques are very beneficial.

3. Fertilizer. Feed regularly with a balanced fertilizer.

4. Hand pollination. This will get fruit to set early giving them a longer growing season.

5. Prune. By removing all but one or two vegetables the plant will be able to

concentrate all its growing energy into producing giant-sized specimens.

Electroculture — tapping atmospheric electricity by surrounding the plants with grounded copper wire — foliar feeding, wick feeding, and other techniques are all worthy of experimenting with.

List of specimens

For 25 cents to cover postage, Mrs. Grace will supply a list of the record-breaking specimens of North America and Britain to anyone asking for it. The list shows that qualifying for Mr. McWhirter's new publication won't come easily.

U.S. big ones include a 207 pound pumpkin, a 197 pound watermelon, and a Chinese radish which Althea Derb of Clovis, New Mexico, nursed along to 17 pounds in weight.

British records are similarly incredible: a cabbage that weighed 84 pounds, a pea-pod more than 10 inches long, and who can imagine a single rhubarb stalk weighing in at 4 pounds 3½ ounces! The world record for a carrot, by the way, belongs to England's William Price of Hereford — 7 pounds 5 ounces.

Cricket: how England brought home the Ashes

By John Allan May
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
In winning the Ashes at home for the first time since 1883 the MCC has marked up a notable achievement. It has also found a top-class cricket team.

This Australian touring side is not as weak as it made out to be. It has a fast bowler, a batting all-rounder, and a batsman who can bowl, bat, and even a bit of a fielder. It made it look feasible by comparison.

Catches win matches. And there is no player in the MCC team who cannot be relied on to take 99.9 percent of his chances in the field.

Bob Willis has matured into a fast bowler of equal aggression and accuracy. Under English conditions, when the ball swings, Ian Botham and Mike Hendrick both are formidable. Bob Woolmer is of almost equal class. Chris Old has only been kept out of the side through injury.

But Brearley may be the best captain in the world. In the past two Tests hardly a move he made, whether in the form of a change of bowling or replacement in the field, did not quickly pay off.

Finally, then, to the batting. There is no doubt about it. England has looked a different side now that Geoff Boycott is back. He is a Test batsman in excelsis. There is no other in England or Australia to match him.

One may not like his kind of batting, viewing it on its own. But if one were captain of England one would like it all right. The same is true if one was batting Number Three or Four in the side, or if like Knott one came in later with instructions to make some quick runs oneself.

Suppose in this last Test that first Greg Chappell and then later Rod Marsh had had a Boycott in their side to bat with, what odds

match-winner on his own when conditions suit him. Tony Greig takes the occasional wicket with either seam bowling or off-spin.

Behind the wicket, of course, Alan Knott is a marvel and his batting is often inspired. As to captaincy, Tony Greig laid the foundations for Mike Brearley; as Brearley himself has underlined, Greig got the players he wanted, honed up their fielding, insisted on their fitness, and so on.

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would there have been then against their scoring 400 themselves, even in the second innings! Derek Randall too is going to make a lot of runs in his own very different style. Woolmer has shown already that he can score Test hundreds. Botham too can bat.

Dennis Amis is still in the wings as well. So that England today can be seen to have a very powerful side.

At the moment of the Kerry Packer outbreak in 1966 we do not know. Virtually the whole of the Australian team could be out of Test cricket, perhaps for good. With England, Greig, Knott and Underwood will probably go too. First class cricket may be in a turmoil for some years.

But the change in the English side has been so great, and so sudden, that things no longer look black for them. Or even grey. There is a little doubt now that England can cope.

There is no other cricketer around with Greig's qualities, or Knott's or Underwood's. And yet when you look at the MCC side now, and at the possible replacements, there is no need to feel downcast any more.

There's a new mood about, a new confidence, a new keeness, a new belief in itself within the team. Even without those players this is a good side and there are others around who one day soon could even perhaps make it a great one.

For a Hungarian meal — simply add violins

By Risa Pisko
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Gypsy Goulash is one of our favorite warm dishes on a buffet table. Three kinds of meats keep their own taste, yet blend in with each other and make the goulash different and interesting — besides being very flavorful and delicious.

Gypsy Goulash

1 pound beef
1 pound lean pork
1 pound veal
2 tablespoons bacon fat
2 cups chopped onions
Salt to taste
Ground black pepper to taste
1 scant tablespoon Hungarian Sweet Rose Paprika

2 green peppers, cleaned and quartered
2-3 large tomatoes, quartered
Water or beef stock as needed
2-3 large potatoes, cubed and cooked in salted water

Cook the potatoes well. Time them to be ready about the same time meat is tender. Drain the potatoes and keep warm, adding just before serving.

Cube meats and put aside.

Heat fat, add onions, and brown lightly. Add meat and salt and cook on medium heat until meat is browned on all sides. Stir frequently to avoid scorching.

Add ground pepper, paprika, green peppers, and tomatoes. Bring to boil, cover, lower heat, and simmer.

Add water or stock, little by little, as needed, to prevent burning. Cook until meat is fork tender. Add more stock for more gravy. Taste and adjust seasoning.

Mix in cooked potato cubes and serve piping hot, preferably in a copper kettle or in an earthenware casserole. Makes 6-8 generous servings.

As rhubarb is available all summer long, you may like to try your hand at rhubarb strudel.

Here is my recipe.

Rise's Rhubarb Strudel

2 cups flour
¼ teaspoon salt
½ cup water, or a little more to make a soft dough
1 egg
2 teaspoons oil
1 teaspoon vinegar

½ cup raisins

¾ cup butter, melted

¼ cup breadcrumbs

2-3 pounds young, tender rhubarb stalks, unpeeled

¾ cup sugar

To prepare the dough, combine flour and salt in a large bowl; make a well in the center of the flour. Mix all other ingredients in a small bowl, beat slightly, and pour into the well.

With a wooden spoon mix and beat till dough is very smooth and elastic. Form dough into a ball.

Dough should be rather soft; soft dough is easier to stretch.

Cover a 40-inch square table with a large tablecloth and dust the cloth with flour. Put the dough in the middle of the table, sprinkle with a little flour and cover with a warm bowl. Let rest for about 30 minutes.

Meanwhile prepare filling. Soak raisins in water for about 10 minutes, then squeeze out liquid and reserve.

Use about half of melted butter to brown bread crumbs.

Wash and cut unpeeled rhubarb stalks into ½ inch pieces, sprinkle sugar and raisins on the stalks and put aside.

Butter a large 12-inch by 18-inch baking sheet.

Heat oven to 375 degrees F. and start stretching the strudel dough.

With a well-floured rolling pin roll out dough as thin as possible, brush lightly with melted butter, and start stretching.

Put both hands under dough, palms down, fingers slightly bent. Stretch evenly in all directions, moving around the table. Exert light pressure on dough with your fingers, pull to yard you. Dough will become very thin, will cover the whole table.

Work fast because dough dries quickly and breaks easily. Dough may hang beyond the edge of the table. Cut off these thick edges with a sharp knife or scissors.

Sprinkle some melted butter and all browned bread crumbs on stretched-out dough. Cover ¾ of the dough with the rhubarb mixture, and roll up, starting with the covered part. By lifting the tablecloth, the strudel will roll in jelly-roll fashion.

Band the strudel into a horse-shoe shape and carefully lift it, using both hands, onto a well buttered baking sheet. Brush strudel with melted butter and bake in a preheated oven at 375 degrees F. for 30 to 45 minutes.

Dust with vanilla sugar; cut into 3-inch-wide pieces, and serve warm, not hot.



Symbol for Moscow games

assistant to the chairman of the organiza-

ing committee, assured me in a brief interview following a press conference on the subject. But he refused to elaborate on what that meant in terms of new construction.

"We don't really know how many tourists we will have," he said. "Right now we're trying to calculate that figure. But until we know, it's hard to plan how many new hotels we need."

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In the area of security, of course, the strictness of the Soviet system is an advantage. One never knows when the terrorism which marred or threatened other Games may strike, but it would certainly take a particularly incautious individual or group to try anything along those lines in a country like the U.S.S.R.

In terms of the actual competition, too, Moscow starts out with one big advantage over other recent host cities like Munich and Montreal in that it already has the main stadium and many of the other necessary facilities.

The Central Lenin Stadium is part of the vast Luzhnik sports complex in the southern part of the city which will serve as the hub of the 1980 Games. The opening and closing ceremonies along with competitions in at least 10

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science

Acid snow is no joke

By David F. Salisbury

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

In an old Peanuts comic strip, Snoopy dashes back and forth slurping up snowflakes. In the final frame, the fantasmagoric makes a sour face and exclaims, "EEYuk, fluorine."

If, instead of fluorine, Snoopy had blamed sulfuric or nitric acid for the bad taste of that final snowflake he would have foretold a world pollution problem, the seriousness of which is gradually becoming known.

For the last 20 years the rain and snow falling over much of Europe and North America has grown hundreds, even thousands of times more acidic. The sulfur and nitrogen oxides which result from burning fossil fuels appear to be the cause of rains which more and more frequently pour down with an acidity equal to that of lemon juice.

The results: widespread loss of some species of fish, possible damage to certain kinds of trees and crops, and a human health hazard that has some experts concerned, according to growing evidence.

The international conference on acid precipitation in Norway last year recommended on the basis of what is now known about the effects of acid rain that all governments reconsider their approaches to the control of these pollutants.

In the past year the magnitude of the problem has become a little clearer although few corrective steps have been taken.

But Norway and Sweden now are talking seriously about bringing the issue before the World Court and demanding that other nations pay them for the damage that has been done and seek ways to eliminate the problem. Such a course would require Europe to spend billions of dollars.

One of the first comprehensive studies on how these air pollutants move through the atmosphere was released in July. Sponsored by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), this study investigated the situation in northwest Europe.

Although far from definitive, its results confirm that sulfur compounds in particular travel long distances, writes R. A. Barnes, a scientist with the United Kingdom's Department of the Environment, in a summary for the journal Nature. This possibility was not seriously considered until recently.

The OECD report also suggests that Austria, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland all involuntarily "import" more than twice as much sulfurous air as they "export." It finds further that there is a strong acid background in rainfall from Atlantic air which "probably comes" from North American sources.

The reasons the long-range transport of these pollutants are a matter of serious concern were summarized in the report of the Norway conference:

Breathing acid aerosols appears to be detrimental to human health; acid rains and snow already have caused the death of large numbers of fish and other aquatic creatures; the rains may be stunting the growth of millions of acres of forest, adversely affecting cropland, and eating away at numerous man-made structures.

Moreover, recent research in Canada has established a link between acidity and the levels of organic mercury (a potent human nerve poison) in fish and so adds another major concern.

Partial appreciation for the detrimental effects of pouring millions of tons of sulfates through — primarily — coal burning



The summer rain: can it fall free of pollution?

Photograph by Scott Hansen

into the atmosphere led to the switch to low-sulfur coal and other fuels in the U.S. in the late 1960s. But according to a report by Dr. John F. Finkler of the National Environmental Research Center, this was more than offset by industrial growth. U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) data shows a sharp increase for both sulfur dioxide and nitric oxide in the '80s.

Similar increases were recorded in Europe. From 1910 to 1950 sulfur dioxide emissions were fairly constant at about 24 million tons. In 1973, however, this pollutant had more than doubled to roughly 55 million tons. On a percentage basis the growth of nitric oxides has been even greater.

These pollutants are carried hundreds, even thousands of miles in the atmosphere. Sulfur compounds are converted into sulfuric acid far from their source and washed from the skies by rain and snow.

As a result "the long-run social and economic problems associated with acid precipitation and its control are particularly complex and vexing, since rain and snow are not confined to existing political boundaries," Gene Likens, a Cornell, New York, scientist who has become an authority on this subject, has observed.

The international problems involved are illustrated by the situation in Scandinavia. "The silent spring" — maybe that is an appropriate term to describe the outlook for many lakes and rivers in Scandinavia," Norwegian expert Lars N. Overrein says. Pollution-laden masses of air from England, France, Germany, Eastern Europe, and even North America, converge on Scandinavia.

According to the OECD report, Norway receives roughly one quarter of its total sulfur dose from Britain, the largest source of this pollutant in Europe, and this is double the amount released domestically. As much as half a ton of sulfate (the salt of sulfuric acid) has fallen per square mile in a single episode, Norwegian scientists say.

By tracking the course of episodes of acid rain the Scandinavian scientists report in a joint paper prepared for the United

Nations water conference last spring that they have connected them with air masses moving over highly industrialized areas of Europe. This conclusion has been confirmed by the OECD findings.

"High acidity has caused hundreds of lakes in Norway to lose their fish," laments a summary of Norwegian research on this topic. It continues by warning that large additional areas of the southern part of the country are threatened and that the ill effects are moving gradually north.

Acid levels tend to be the highest during the first heavy rains in autumn and with the early snow melts in spring. This cycle "is particularly critical for fish, because this is when spawning and hatching take place, and it is the reproductive process that appears most sensitive to acid stress," the summary states.

The acidity in Scandinavia is particularly damaging because the rocks and soil in the area are deficient in limestone. This provides bicarbonate which can neutralize the acid in other regions. The northeastern U.S. and the Laurentian shield area in Canada are also limestone-poor. As a result acid downpours have led to rapid extinction of fish populations in some areas. Trout and salmon are particularly sensitive to acid stress, U.S. Scandinavians have found.

It is in northern Quebec that scientists at the Dornier Research Center in Ontario have linked acid levels with concentrations of poisonous organic mercury in fish.

Surveys of this area have found that pike and pickerel have mercury levels "well above" the standard for human consumption that has been set in the U.S. and Canada.

As a lake becomes more acidic, the amount of organic mercury fish accumulate through their gills and in their food increases, the Dornier scientists have found.

"As acidification proceeds and interferes with the reproduction of the fish, only very large fish with very high mercury content will remain," their report continues.

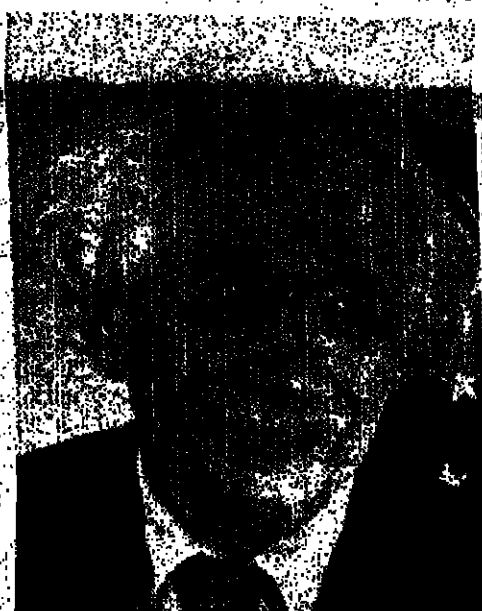
The result is "that, at least in certain . . . waters, the mercury content of the fish may be expected to rise sharply in the future."

Physicists test and test again Einstein's theory

By Robert C. Cowen

Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Once again, a research team wants to put Einstein to the test. Although his famous theory of gravity has cleared several hurdles



Einstein: coming up trumps

In recent years, physicists still have to take it partly on faith.

So Robert F. C. Vessot of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory is designing a probe to send to the sun. Measurements made as it falls under solar gravity could provide the most comprehensive test yet of Einstein's concepts, Dr. Vessot says.

Physicists aren't just being fastidious in continually testing that theory. Its mathematics are so complex that even the most brilliant minds have worked out only a few consequences. Yet Einstein's basic assumptions have come to underpin modern physical science.

One such principle states that the physical laws "manifested" in the absence of gravity should also apply when an object is falling freely in a gravitational field. There is no guarantee whatsoever that this is true. But, as developed in Einstein's theory, this principle predicts certain odd effects that can be measured. Clocks, for example, should run slower when gravity is stronger.

This was recently checked when a National Aeronautics and Space Administration rocket carried a Smithsonian atomic clock 6,333 miles high last year. At peak altitude, the clock should have run faster by about 4.3 parts in ten billion than its twin left behind in the stronger gravity on the ground. Dr. Vessot says that the data now are being refined and at this stage it looks as though Einstein's principle

hold to within an accuracy of two-hundredths of one percent.

That principle also predicts that light or radio waves should bend when passing close to a massive body. For the sun, the deflection angle should be about 1.75 seconds. Last summer, E. B. Fomalont and R. A. Sramek of the (U.S.) National Radio Astronomy Observatory reported measurements using three cosmic radio sources. They agreed with Einstein to within about seven-tenths of one percent.

Meanwhile, the probe Vessot is designing on Mars are helping to test Einstein's theory. Einstein's theoretical equations predict that radio signals sent to and from the spacecraft should slow down when they pass close by the sun. This should lengthen the normal 42-minute round trip by two ten-thousandths of a second.

Dr. Irwin Shapiro of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who is responsible for analyzing the data, says that early results agree with the theory to within half a percent. That's already more accurate than earlier versions of this test. But the measurements, still in progress, may ultimately test Einstein's theory to within a tenth of a percent.

Nevertheless, physicists won't be satisfied: Relativity's effects, while significant on a cosmic scale, are hard to pin down on the scale of the solar system.

That's why Dr. Vessot and his colleagues are drawing up plans for the solar probe. It would

test clock rates, light bending, signal delays, and other effects, all in one experiment.

One particular test would go to the heart of Einstein's concepts. These predict that, when the only force acting is gravity, a body will take the longest (not the shortest) route it can through the universe. Dr. Vessot says it now is possible to build the probe so as to neutralize all non-gravitational forces, such as light pressure, and test this prediction directly.

As a bonus, he adds, physicists could use the probe to look for gravity waves. These are ripples of gravitational force that travel with the speed of light. Theoretically they should be crisscrossing the universe. However, they would be so weak that, once again, only delicate measurement could detect them.

Picking up the waves with the probe could be another matter. Dr. Vessot explains that weak gravity ripples should show as fluctuations in the probe's travel. These could be tracked accurately, without the interference of tides and other gravitational effects that would tend to swamp such waves on Earth.

If gravity waves were found, they would open a new way to study the universe. Commenting on this in a recent survey of cosmology, Michael Berry of Bristol University observes that light and radio waves enable us "to see the universe . . . but gravitational radiation [actually shaking matter on Earth] will enable us to feel the pulse of the universe."

travel

In Thomas Hardy country — mood unchanged

By John Koenig Jr.

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Dorchester, England
On High Street, here in Thomas Hardy country, stands the King's Arms Hotel. Here it was that Hardy had his mayor of "Casterbridge" — his fictitious name for Dorchester — play host to the town dignitaries in his novel.

To me, launched as I was on a tour of the obscure and scattered literary and historic spots of England, this bay-windowed old hostelry was the only hotel in town.

At the desk I asked the matron guarding the hotel register: "A single room for tonight, please?" She eyed me. It suddenly occurred to me that it was nearly 9 p.m. on a busy Friday night and that perhaps I should have made a reservation in advance.

I quickly pleaded my case. "This is Dorchester, Thomas Hardy's town," I said. "This

is the King's Arms, Hardy's favorite old inn. I have come 3,000 miles from America to stay here. I hope I am not too late for a room."

"The woman smiled wanly and looked over her charts, her pencil stopping finally at one point.

"I have one room you may not like, on the top floor," she said, looking over her spectacles.

"I'll take it, sight unseen," I said.

Behind me, I heard the voice of a young woman. "And do you have another, please?"

"No," said the registrar. "Sorry, but that was the last."

The young woman vanished into High Street. I lugged my U.S. Air Force-type bag to the third floor — you don't get much service in smaller hotels these days.

My room, in a sort of loft, might have been one where Dickens's Mr. Pickwick would have lodged his man Sam Weller. But it was clean and bright and the windows looked down on bustling High Street. It didn't have to be a palace.

This was Thomas Hardy land, Hardy's wistful Wessex, where in this south-central region of England the farm population, I imagined, still struggled under the weight of centuries of Celtic, Roman, and Saxon influence. In the midst of such literary wealth, just plain "digs" were good enough.

Unfortunately, I had arrived too late for dinner in the hotel's dining room. But heading along High Street, I found Judge Jeffrey's Restaurant, a gem of a Tudor building, somewhat curiously associated with a judge of the so-called "Bloody Assizes" that followed the battle of Sedgemoor in 1685.

After a trout dinner I heard a female voice behind me say: "You are American, aren't you? Will you join us for an after-dinner coffee?" It was the young lady who had inquired about a room just behind me at the King's Arms. Falling to find a billet there, she and her husband had gone round the corner and obtained accommodations at the "Antelope Hotel," another place where it appeared Dickens's Mr. Pickwick might have stayed.

As it turned out, the two were teachers on holiday from their school in Torquay in Devon. Peter had worked with the American armed forces on the Continent, and Francesca, his Dutch-born wife who speaks perfect English, had joined him in teaching foreign languages in England.

Hosting an after-dinner session at the King's Arms, I tried to make it up to Francesca and Peter for having vanquished them in the race for the last remaining room there that night.

Thomas Hardy followers and other travelers can all turn up in Dorchester in large numbers on a Friday or Saturday night. But I found that the Hardy enthusiasts especially are a bit of a boon to the old town. In 1968 the Thomas Hardy Society, Ltd., organized a festival marking the 40th anniversary of the writer's death. (The original intention had been to observe the 100th anniversary of his birth, but this fell in 1940, a time when Britain was engaged in priority military business precluding prime attention to such things as writers' birthdays.)

The 1968 "do" was such a success, drawing Hardy enthusiasts from all over the world, that thoughts now have turned to having another observance — the 50th anniversary of Hardy's death.

The 1968 event included special commemorative observances, theatrical performances, folk dancing, concerts, poetry readings, lectures, and art exhibitions. The President of the Festival was former British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

Plans haven't exactly jelled as yet for the 1978 festival, but society members are counting on beginning it during August of that year. Activities related to Hardy's writings will be



British Tourist Authority

Hardy's birthplace: here he wrote 'Far from the Madding Crowd'

sponsored in parts of Dorsetshire throughout the year, starting with a wreath-laying ceremony in Stinsford Churchyard on Jan. 15, the Sunday closest to the 50th anniversary of Hardy's death. A commemorative service in Westminster Abbey, London, is planned for Aug. 10.

A very active organization, the Thomas Hardy Society publishes short guides to areas associated with scenes in Hardy's novels and provides its members with an annual review and a quarterly newsletter containing details of future events, articles, book reviews, and other information. Summer schools were held in 1973 and 1975 at the nearby seaside resort of Weymouth, and resulted in two important works of Hardy scholarship.

To join, contact the society secretary, the Rev. J. M. C. Yates, the Vicarage, Haselbury Plucknett, Crewkerne, Somerset, England, TA18 7PB. Dues are a mere £1.50 (about \$2.55) a year.

The area guides published by the society are an excellent aid to Hardy buffs who are vigorous enough to venture into the countryside to follow in the footsteps of the principal characters of Hardy's "Tess of the d'Urbervilles," "The Return of the Native," "Far from the Madding Crowd," and other novels.

Thomas Hardy Country — the land of rolling chalk downs and farms, thatched-roof cottages, manor houses, village inns, and churches, stretching from below Oxford to Bournemouth and Weymouth on the English Channel — all can be seen over a period of days by car with occasional hikes on foot.

But the essential scenes of Hardy's own life, in and around Dorchester, can be covered in one day. The chief shrine is Hardy's birthplace at Higher Bockhampton, about two miles out of town. Mrs. A. D. Winchcombe lives there now and under an arrangement with the National Trust opens the house to visitors at certain times.

The house would appear to be centuries old — a slanted roof of heavy thatch, dormer windows, and two-foot-thick walls of "cob," a composition of clay and straw used in this part of England. Actually, it was built in 1800 by John Hardy, great-grandfather of Thomas. The Hardys were masons and builders. Family members occupied the house until 1912.

Thomas Hardy was born there in 1840, grew up there, studied architecture and began writing his novels there. In his novels, he wrote about the life he knew — the cottagers, the people who lived in houses like his own boyhood home.

Years later, Hardy, by then a successful writer, designed his home which he named Max Gate, and his brother, Henry, built it on the edge of another part of Dorchester. I was able to locate it through directions of a waitress at The Triumph Major, an inn named for one of Hardy's lesser-known novels.

"Turn left as you leave here," said the girl. "It's going straight on and stands behind a wall."

She was correct; the house wasn't far but it is secluded from the road and neighboring houses. At the entrance is a sign posted by the present occupant reading: "This house and grounds are not open to the public." You can

view the rather somber red-brick structure, however, from the entrance to the driveway. Hardy lived here from 1885 until his death in his 88th year in 1928.

A reproduction of Hardy's writing room at Max Gate is on exhibit at the Dorset County Museum on High Street in the center of town. Here behind a large pane of glass are the furniture, books, and memorabilia Hardy had in his own private writing room. The museum contains many other Hardy exhibits, and at an intersection along High Street there is a life-size statue of the writer.

Not far from his birthplace at Higher Bockhampton is Stinsford Church with the Hardy family burial plot in the churchyard. Hardy's ashes lie in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey, London, but his heart is buried at Stinsford beside the graves of his first and second wives, his mother, and some other family members.

Around Dorchester there are other sights that can be seen before you call it a day. On the south side of town is Maumbury Ring, an earthen bank believed to have been a Roman amphitheater. In these eerie surroundings, Hardy's "Mayor of Casterbridge" kept a midnight rendezvous.

A mile south of Dorchester is Maiden Castle, which is not really a castle at all; it's an Iron Age hill fort, containing an earlier Neolithic camp.

But perhaps the most distinguishing feature of this part of England is the land itself — that rolling countryside known as the "downs" and the "heaths," settled after Roman times by the Saxons.

It was the mood of this land and its people that captured the imagination of Thomas Hardy. He called his "Egdon Heath" in his fiction "untamed and unmanageable," for the sandy soil was infertile and the land high, undulating and windswept.

Much of the land remains that way, but some has been changed since the last century when Hardy wrote about it. In some areas now there are great stands of trees — Douglas fir, replanted from the United States, and Corsican and Scots pine. Even around Higher Bockhampton, which once stood alone on the open heath, trees now abound.

The farming revolution in Dorset continues; new highways cross the county, and an atomic research station has been built in the area. The heath appears to be shrinking fast. But there seems to be little cause for alarm. Much of Hardy's world survives, little changed. And in Dorchester, the traffic may hurtle along High Street, but most of the landmarks of Hardy's time can be found by those who seek them out.

"You can't erase the traces of Thomas Hardy," a town worthy at the King's Arms told me. "There are too many here."

It even could be said that "Hardyana" in Dorchester is increasing. Upstairs at the King's Arms there are now "Hardy's Room" and the "Casterbridge Lounge" — meeting rooms, for hire to business, civic, and social groups. For Dorchester, it is just good business to preserve the memory of Thomas Hardy.

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arts/books

Europe — in the days when kings were eagles

The Fall of Eagles, by Cyrus L. Sulzberger. New York: Crown Publishing. 408 pp. \$17.95. London: Hodder & Stoughton 1975.

By Joseph G. Harrison

What a shame that progress is so often dull and colorless, that the glitter and pageantry of backward establishments are so much more interesting than the plodding hucksterism of more politically advanced and socially responsive institutions. To be concrete, how much more fun it is to read about the

Book review

Russian Romanovs than the Russian communists, the Hohenzollerns of Germany than the government of Chancellor Schmidt, and the picturesque Habsburgs than the present, almost-impossible-to-remember elected officials of 1977 Austria. Sort of the difference between fairy tales and soap operas.

In "The Fall of Eagles" New York Times diplomatic correspondent Cyrus Sulzberger has hit upon an absorbing theme — the disappearance during the ghastly welter of World War I of the Austrian, German, and Russian monarchies. Each of these had the eagle as its imperial emblem, a becoming choice, since the eagle is one of the dumbest and least adaptable of birds. And it was the overweening pride, imperial ambition, backward political sense of these three dynasties which brought about the war which toppled them.

Yet, how much more gripping is the tale of their rise, their power, their intrigues, and their fall than that of more representative, democratically elected governments. How much more leaden-hued their lands because of their disappearance.

Experienced journalist

Mr. Sulzberger has chosen just the right tone with which to recount these histories. He writes in terms of human beings and

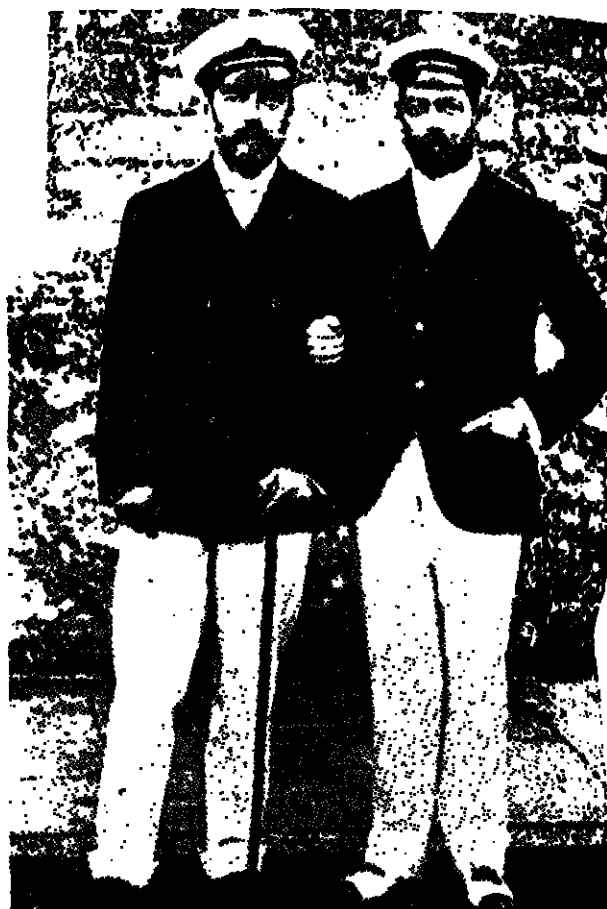
their strengths and weaknesses, rather than of the decisions of chancellors. Having lived and traveled in these lands for some 40 years, he has absorbed their history and transmits it with a kind of well-adapted indulgent cynicism. He realizes that, with the exception of scholars, most of us will read such history only if it is brought poignantly alive to us, and this, with his long experience in journalism, he is able to do.

There is, however, more reason to read such an account of Romanov, Habsburg, and Hohenzollern than for sheer interest and color alone. For we must not forget that the world is what it is today because of those three dynasties. Without the actions of the Romanovs there would, almost certainly, be no communist countries today. Had it not been for the stupidities of the Hohenzollerns, there would have been no Hitler and Nazism to effect the single greatest national and political upheavals in human history. And, while the world role of the Habsburgs is less discernible, it was one of the great determining forces in Europe — the center of world development — for centuries.

To read of these dynasties is to appreciate how far, in one sense, the Western world has changed in the last half-century or so. Yet it is also to realize, as we said at the beginning, how, with each such change, so much color seems to disappear from public life. To say this is not to assert that conscientiousness is not infinitely preferable to pageantry, but merely to yearn nostalgically for just a little more brightness in government.

In addition to its readable text, this book has an outstanding array of illustrations — paintings, colored photographs, black-and-white snapshots, line drawings, etc. Many of these are of actual historical events. Here is important history in its most readable and viewable form.

Joseph G. Harrison held a number of key positions on the Monitor during four decades with this newspaper.



From "The Fall of Eagles"
Nicholas II and the Prince of Wales, 1909

There must have been a Stone Age Newton at work

Stonehenge, by Fred Hoyle. London: Heinemann. £7.

One of the world's greatest theoretical astronomers analyzes one of the world's most intriguing astronomical mysteries — the celestial

Book review

alignments of Stonehenge. It's a promise of intellectual adventure that Sir Fred Hoyle's essay abundantly fulfills.

In it, he summarizes a decade's study of those sighting lines that point so provocatively at important rising and setting positions of sun and moon. These are horizon points that mark

the equinoxes and solstices and track the extreme northern and southern appearances of the moon. They are also points worth keeping track of if you want to predict lunar or solar eclipses, as Gerald Hawkins made clear 14 years ago when he showed how Stonehenge might be used as an eclipse-predicting computer.

Sir Fred agrees that the monument could be used to forecast eclipses. Although his method of using it differs from that proposed by Dr. Hawkins, his formidable championship of this unorthodox notion has done much to fend off the sharp criticisms of many archaeologists. The critics concede Stonehenge may have some astronomical significance, but charge that astronomers tend to read too much of their own

subject into something that probably had more ritualistic and religious importance than it did scientific practicality.

Sir Fred now meets this criticism part way by suggesting that what seems the most impressive part of the monument, the great stone trilithons and encircling rings of stones, is actually a degenerate stage. The earlier, simpler stage of the monument is where he finds the working astronomical observatory. The later stage seems better adapted for showy ritual. Perhaps, he suggests, Stonehenge custodians discovered the natural cycles that would allow them to compile eclipse-predicting tables and dispense with the need to observe the sun and moon themselves. To astronomer Hoyle, this was a decidedly backward step. "The concept

of constructing an instrument to observe the world was gone," he says, "and in that, much was lost."

As always, Sir Fred makes a plausible case. But is he right? The purported astronomical significance of Stonehenge has a long and checkered history, and Sir Fred still has his critics.

In the end, the book leaves one overriding impression — a sense that so-called primitive people, our distant forefathers, were a great deal more sophisticated intellectually than they have often been considered. As Sir Fred himself once observed: "A veritable Newton or Einstein must have been at work."

Robert C. Cowen is the Monitor's natural science editor.

Elvis Presley: first of the rock 'n' roll idols

His style far outgrew hip-wriggling brashness

By David Sterritt

Elvis Presley began his career as the key symbol and driving force behind a youthful pop-art form called rock 'n' roll. Twenty years later, his days of musical innovation and popularity cultism were long in the past. Yet his audience had stretched to include proto-agers and middle-aged women, who greeted his gold-out-arena appearances with virtual raptures.

eye-boggling displays of popping flashcubes.

In the long run, Presley's breezy, onstage manner and effortless singing style far outlasted and outweighed the hip-wriggling brashness that offended some observers during the 1950s and sparked periodic condemnation of the whole rock 'n' roll phenomenon. By the mid-60s he earned more money per year than any other performer in history, mostly on the strength of records and movie appearances. At the time of his passing he was considered a staple of the American entertainment scene, a showman whose name spelled instant success.

After developing and polishing his individualistic early style at the small Sun Records studio in Memphis, Presley moved to RCA Victor and burst to national fame in 1956. His early hits included "Heartbreak Hotel," "Blue Suede Shoes," "I Want You, I Need You, I Love You," and the two-sided smash "Don't Be Cruel" and "Hound Dog." The latter tune so cheerfully noisily that Elvis himself was said to be somewhat overwhelmed by it.

A touted appearance on Ed Sullivan's TV show and a massive publicity blitz led groups of parents to inveigh against his undulating physicality, while young fans greeted his dancing and appearance with an adulation that has since the early days of Frank Sinatra and not seen again until the advent of the Beatles.

The clamor soon subsided into continuing loyalty on one side and belated tolerance on the other, as Presley's singing slipped toward the slick, highly polished vein of "Teddy Bear" and "It's Now or Never." The singer launched a long and profitable movie career in 1957 with the modest "Love Me Tender," and thereafter devoted increasing energy to films and highly commercialized songs generated by them. He also built a far-flung television following.

Even an Elvis could not remain indefinitely at his peak of popularity, with membership in various fan clubs totaling hundreds of thousands, and his subsequent career was marked by sporadic letdowns and comebacks.

Yet his personal appearance style continued to mature, and by the early '70s he had become a smooth and appealing entertainer,

whose act incorporated casual renditions of a wide range of pop songs, a gently engaging mockery of his own superstar image, and an ability to plunge into obviously heartfelt interpretations of gospel music.

Though he grew steadily away from his more primitive musical roots, Presley's early rockabilly style is still a core element of today's rock, and has been credited as a crucial personal influence by artists as important and diverse as the Beatles and Bob Dylan. Presley is justly regarded as the first of the rock 'n' roll idols, and perhaps the most influential in the brief history of the form he helped invent.

Weak script sinks 'Orca'

By David Sterritt

Watching Dino Di Laurenti's "Orca" is like receiving a gift from a rich friend who doesn't know you very well. It's big and expensive, but it just isn't what you wanted.

An Orca is a killer whale, so you can guess what movie legend is being tripped off again. Ac-

Film review

tually, the beginning is promising, with gorgeous footage of whales leaping and frolicking in the open sea. Even the start of the story is not too disheartening: All the conventions are present (menacing teeth, vengeful feelings, even a lecture to teach us a little about the subject at hand) and the actors, led by Richard

Harris and Charlotte Rampling, seem an intelligent lot.

Soon the plot becomes utterly preposterous, however, even by today's loose standards. By the time our hero has improbably headed toward the Arctic Circle, in pursuit of a whale he's been trying to avoid for the past hour, the only fascination left is watching those intelligent performers struggle with material almost too stupid for a Flash Gordon serial. The only consolation is a haunting Ennio Morricone score, and a quick visit from Keanu Wynn, who is always fun. Will Sampson, the American Indian of "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest," is given embarrassing lines to say, and says them embarrassingly. Michael Anderson directed in his usual impersonal style.

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education

The best educational system: no country can claim it

By Cynthia Pursons
Education editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Alex Inkeles of Stanford University in California has written an amazing little monograph for the National Academy of Education which reviews nine volumes dealing with international evaluation of educational achievement.

Professor Inkeles has condensed an enormous amount of work, and made some very significant points. His remarks are especially critical for all those who work in educational testing and evaluation.

But he also has a few things to say which all of us are interested in. For the most part, the international studies attempted to make some comparisons between developed and underdeveloped nations. In a sense, the purpose was for each country to find out if any other had a significantly better education system, or if there were serious flaws in either the whole system or the teaching of a specific subject.

Those serious about international evaluation studies will, of course, want to read the entire monograph. And I apologize to the author for skimming only the surface in this short article. What is particularly significant, is the fact

that four less developed countries participated in some of the testing programs. They were Chile, India, Iran, and Thailand. Professor Inkeles says of them: "What was distinctive about the less developed countries was the extremely poor showing they made on the tests, at all ages and largely without regard to the subject tested or the mode of testing."

In one specific test item, testing knowledge of the students' own language, a group of 10-year-olds in each nation was given this fairly simple task: They were to read the following and answer the question:

"Peter has a little dog. The dog is black with a white spot on his back and one white leg. The color of Peter's dog is mostly: black, brown, gray?"

Professor Inkeles reports: In the 11 more developed countries the typical rate of failure was 10 percent rising to 11 percent in Israel, and 20 percent in Hungary. But in Chile, the failure rate was 26 percent, and in India and Iran, 36 percent and 52 percent respectively.

He further states, "These differences are striking, but they are not exceptional." By that he means that the four less-developed nations' students performed consistently poorer than the children in the United States, Japan, England, Finland, Australia, the Netherlands, etc.

In regard to the developed countries, Professor Inkeles makes a somewhat startling statement based on his analysis of the findings in the nine studies: "I find," he states categorically, "no one country to be so consistently ahead or behind as to suggest that it has developed a generally superior or inferior method for the education of its young people."

He does state, though, that the amount of effort a country puts into the teaching of a specific subject — reflected in the resources and time devoted to the subject in the curriculum — does have a direct effect on test results.

This was most dramatically shown in the

Romanian instruction of French where the 14-year-olds tested outperformed all other students of comparable age in other developed countries teaching French as a foreign language.

One point Dr. Inkeles makes several times: This is what he calls the "opportunity to learn." This may be effected by home condition, by national interest, by cultural bias, by the amount of time devoted to the study of the subject, etc. But however one describes "opportunity to learn," it is this that is the key element in low or high test results.

OUT OF THE LABORATORY

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the test. This helps pin down the zero of the Celsius (centigrade) temperature scale. Now the National Bureau of Standards in the United States says the triple point of mercury (38.8416 degrees below zero C.) is reliable enough to pin down a second point on the temperature scale. This could increase the precision of the international standard on which all temperature scales depend.

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French/German

La Chine : ouverte ou fermée ?

[Traduction d'un article ayant paru en anglais le 22 août 1977]

par William J. Porter

Il y a six ans, en juillet 1971, Henry Kissinger fit un voyage secret à Pékin pour dire aux Chinois que le gouvernement des États-Unis désirait travailler à la normalisation des relations avec la République populaire de Chine (RPC). Il demanda aussi aux Chinois d'inviter le président Nixon dans leur pays et une invitation fut faite pour le printemps de l'année suivante.

Depuis ce premier voyage de Kissinger, deux présidents des U.S.A. et deux Secrétaires d'État se sont rendus plus d'une douzaine de fois dans la capitale chinoise. Des vingtaines de législateurs américains et de hauts fonctionnaires ont aussi fait des voyages là-bas au cours des six dernières années. Toutefois pas un seul Chinois haut placé n'a visité les États-Unis.

L'usage diplomatique normal et la courtoisie requièrent qu'ils le fassent et, étant donné que les Chinois sont rarement impolis avec désinvolture il doit y avoir une raison à cela. Ils ont, il faut l'admettre, envoyé aux U.S.A. une bonne quantité de joueurs de ping-pong.

L'origine des efforts américains en vue de normaliser les relations avec la RPC remonte à une suggestion faite par le Secrétaire d'État William Rogers au début de l'année 1971. Nixon et Kissinger pensèrent que l'idée était tellement bonne qu'ils l'annexèrent et la développèrent en secret, excluant Rogers et son département. Il était dans l'intention de Kissinger de régler toute l'affaire de normalisation avec Pékin, y compris la rupture des attaches avec Formose si nécessaire, d'un seul coup fatal. Il devait être déçu. Néanmoins, Chou En-lai était intéressé par le fait que le président américain lui-même était prêt à venir en Chine et à faire, en fait, une amable courtoisie. Si les Américains étaient tellement

impressés qui pouvait dire de quels bienfaits la Chine pourrait bénéficier grâce à une telle visite ? Tout au moins cela pourrait grandement indisposer les Soviétiques.

Nixon et Kissinger, de leur côté, furent tout à fait éblouis par la perspective de la publicité et des acclamations qu'ils obtiendraient et toujours soulevés des médias, ils forgèrent un slogan : Ils allaient « ouvrir » la Chine.

La première visite de Nixon, toutefois, montra clairement qu'elles étaient les choses irréconciliables. Lorsque le concept de normalisation fut introduit par les Américains comme signifiant l'entière reconnaissance diplomatique, les Chinois firent clairement ressortir que des relations complètes étaient inconcevables tant que les États-Unis persistaient à reconnaître la souveraineté de la République de Chine à Formose; et quand Kissinger fut tenté de trouver moyen de faire la part des choses — de la seule façon qui lui vint à l'esprit — il fut contrecarré par Nixon, dont les antécédents et la connaissance du Congrès et d'autres milieux puissants des États-Unis le rendaient très circonspect au sujet de l'abandon du gouvernement de Formose.

Néanmoins, certaines des conversations poursuivies par Kissinger pendant ses voyages ultérieurs atteignirent le point où les Américains essayèrent de déterminer comment la hiérarchie de la RPC traiterait Formose si, et au moment où les Américains fermaient le robinet. Mais de tels sondages suscitèrent simplement le commentaire que les Chinois résoudraient eux-mêmes leurs propres problèmes. Spécifiquement, ils ne seraient pas d'accord pour s'abstenir d'utiliser les méthodes qu'ils préféraient, y compris l'usage de la force pour conquérir l'Ile, si nécessaire. Se conformant à leur façon générale de faire

à ce sujet, les Chinois refusèrent la demande de Kissinger visant à ce que des ambassades soient installées dans les deux capitales, sous la direction de chargés d'affaires, jusqu'à ce que la normalisation complète soit obtenue. Non, déclara Chou, cela pourrait donner aux gens une impression erronée. Quelque peu exaspéré, et parce qu'il avait besoin de quelque chose pour les médias, Kissinger proposa que des « bureaux de liaison » soient installés à Pékin et à Washington. Cela rendrait clair que le principal représentant des U.S.A. ne serait pas un membre du corps diplomatique. Il ne serait pas ambassadeur non plus, mais au moins il pourrait vivre dans la capitale.

Les Chinois acceptèrent cela, par conséquent la tonne de tous les rapports faits aux Américains par l'équipe Kissinger fut adaptée afin de mettre les affaires sous le meilleur aspect possible : Ce devait être une mission diplomatique « en tout sauf l'appellation » et cela représentait un progrès vers la normalisation. La nomination de David Bruce, un homme ayant indubitablement la stature d'un ambassadeur, fut efficacement en valeur l'image que l'administration désirait présenter. Les Chinois envoyèrent à Washington un fonctionnaire dont le nom était à peine connu. En dépit des efforts des U.S.A., toute la question de représentation et de manière de traiter « l'officier de liaison » américain en général, prit un aspect de second plan et Bruce ne resta pas longtemps dans son poste. Les dispositions pouvaient se justifier pour un début, mais six ans se sont écoulés et l'affaire devrait être examinée de nouveau.

Lors des troisième, quatrième et cinquième visites de Kissinger en Chine, « l'ouverture » ne provoquait pas beaucoup d'euphorie. Les

Chinois continuaient à ne manifester aucun intérêt à rendre visite à Washington à un niveau approprié et Kissinger trouva cela décevant. Chaque fois que lui ou ses assistants revenaient sur le sujet, les Chinois semblaient croire que, parce que c'était quelque chose que les Américains désiraient, il ne fallait pas leur accorder. Il y avait, toutefois, un bon côté pour Kissinger dans le fait que les médias américains n'avaient pas fait état du développement bancal de la « normalisation ». Plus la Maison Blanche que le Département d'État ne virent grand intérêt à élucider le sujet pour les médias.

Lorsque le résultat des élections de novembre 1976 enleva ce problème à Kissinger, il était tout à fait convaincu que ses efforts seraient payés de retour. Les émissions de Radio Pékin restaient décourageantes et ne donnaient aucun signe de souplesse ou de cordialité. La dialectique stéréotypée s'y trouvait toujours : « La détente est une tromperie », « La guerre entre les super-puissances assouffies de sang — les U.S.A. et l'U.R.S.S. — est inévitable », etc.

Maintenant un nouveau Secrétaire d'État va essayer de se faire la main. Cyrus Vance entreprendra, avec sa calme façon de faire, de faire comprendre aux Chinois, dans une certaine mesure, que Formose est un problème plus complexe et peut-être encore plus désastreux que le Tibet, par exemple. Il est improbable qu'il puisse faire progresser la question principale, mais il pourra peut-être rendre les apparences plus avantageuses. Après le Moyen-Orient, il se peut que M. Vance se cueille favorablement n'importe quel changement de décor ou de sujet.

M. Porter est un ambassadeur qui vient de prendre sa retraite après une carrière de 40 ans dans le service diplomatique des U.S.A.

China: geöffnet oder verschlossen?

[Dieser Artikel erschien in englischer Sprache in der Ausgabe vom 22. August.]

Von William J. Porter

Vor sechs Jahren, im Juli 1971, reiste Henry Kissinger im geheimen nach Peking, um den Chinesen mitzuteilen, daß die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten eine Normalisierung ihrer Beziehungen zu der Volksrepublik China anzustreben suchte. Er bat auch die Chinesen, Präsident Nixon zu einem Besuch ihres Landes einzuladen, und sie ließen eine Einladung für das Frühjahr '72 im darauffolgenden Jahr an ihn ergangen.

Seit jener ersten Kissinger-Reise haben zwei Präsidenten und zwei Außenminister der USA mehr als zwanzigmal die chinesische Hauptstadt besucht. Im Laufe der vergangenen sechs Jahre haben auch zahlreiche amerikanische Kongressabgeordnete und hohe Regierungsbeamte eine Reise dorthin unternommen. Doch kein einziger Chinese von nationaler Bedeutung hat die Vereinigten Staaten besucht.

Normalerweise verlangen diplomatische Brauch und Höflichkeit, daß die Gäste und die Chinesen seitens einer nachlässigen Taktlosigkeit zeigen, muß ein Grund hierfür vorliegen. Zugegeben, sie haben ein beachtliches Kontingent von Tischtennis-Spielern in die USA geschickt.

Die amerikanischen Bemühungen, die Beziehungen zur Volksrepublik China zu normalisieren, gehen auf einen Vorschlag zurück, den Außenminister William Rogers Anfang 1971 machte. Nixon und Kissinger hielten die Idee für so gut, daß sie sie sich zu eigen machten und sie geheim entwickelten; doch Rogers und sein Außenministerium davon ausgeschlossen. Kissinger leibschichtig, die ganze Sache der Normalisierung mit Peking, einschließlich des Abbruchs der diplomatischen Beziehungen zu Taiwan — wenn erforderlich —, in einem großen Zug zu erledigen. Er sollte aber enttäuscht werden. Tschou En-lai interessierte es jedoch, daß der amerikanische Präsident selbst bereit war, nach China zu kommen und

praktisch vor ihm so etwas wie einen Kautz zu machen. Wenn die Amerikaner so erpicht darauf waren, war konnte das sagen, was für Vorteile ein solcher Besuch für China bringen würde? Zumindest würde es den Sowjets großen Verdruß bereiten.

Nixon und Kissinger ihrerseits waren ganz geblendet von der Aussicht, im Scheinwerferlicht zu stehen und Befall zu ernten, und kreierten, stets mit einem Auge auf die Nachrichtenmedien, das Schlagwort: Sie würden China « öffnen ».

Der erste Besuch Nixons ließ jedoch die unüberbrückbaren Gegensätze klar erkennen. Nachdem die Amerikaner erst einmal den Begriff der Normalisierung eingeführt und erklärt hatten, daß dies uneingeschränkte diplomatische Anerkennung bedeutete, machten die Chinesen es klar, daß uneingeschränkte Beziehungen unvorstellbar wären, solange die Vereinigten Staaten die Souveränität der Republik China auf Taiwan anerkennen wollten. Und als Kissinger versuchte, diese Frage auf dem für ihn einzig gangbaren Weg zu regeln, durchkreuzte Nixon seine Pläne, der aufgrund seiner Erfahrung mit dem Kongreß und mit anderen ausschlaggebenden Stellen in den Vereinigten Staaten sehr vorsichtig vorging, was ein Aufgeben der Taiwan-Regierung betraf.

Trotz allem erreichten einige der von Kissinger auf seinen darauffolgenden Reisen vorgeschlagenen Unterredungen den Punkt, wo die Amerikaner ermitteln wollten, wie die Hierarchie der Volksrepublik China sich gegenüber Taiwan verhalten würde, wenn die Amerikaner ihre Beziehungen zu Taiwan abbröckeln. Ein solches Sondieren führte lediglich zu der Bemerkung, daß die Chinesen ihre Probleme auf ihre Weise lösen würden. Genau gesagt: sie würden sich nicht dazu bereit erklären, auf Methoden zu verzichten, die sie bevorzugten —

einschließlich der Anwendung von Gewalt, falls erforderlich, um die Herrschaft über die Insel zu gewinnen.

In Übereinstimmung mit ihrer allgemeinen Haltung in dieser Angelegenheit gingen die Chinesen nicht auf Kissingers Bitte ein, Botschaften in beiden Hauptstädten einzurichten, und zwar unter Chargés d'affaires, bis sich die Beziehungen völlig normalisiert hätten. Nein, sagte Tschou, das könnte der Bevölkerung einen falschen Eindruck verleihen. Ein bloßes unwillig und weil er etwas für die Nachrichtenmedien brauchte, schlug Kissinger vor, « Liaison-Büros » in Peking und Washington einzurichten. Es wäre dann klar, daß der US-Vertreter nicht dem diplomatischen Korps angehörte. Er wäre auch kein Botschafter, aber zumindest könnte er in der Hauptstadt wohnen.

Die Chinesen erklärten sich damit einverstanden, und die Informationen, die von amerikanischen Öffentlichkeitsbeobachtern in Peking erhalten wurden, zeigten, daß die Angelegenheit im Grunde genommen nicht so kompliziert war, wie es schien. Es sollte eine diplomatische Mission sein, « in allem, ohne den Namen zu tragen », und, so stellte Fortschritt auf dem Weg zur Normalisierung dar. Die Ernennung David Bruce', zweifelslos ein Mann mit der Kapazität eines Botschafters, trug wirkungsvoll zu dem Bild bei, das die Regierung vermitteln wollte. Die Chinesen entsandten einen Regierungsbeamten nach Washington, dessen Namen man bisher kaum gehört hatte. Trotz der amerikanischen Bemühungen gewannen die ganze Sache der Vertretung und die allgemeine Behandlung des amerikanischen « Liaison-Büros » ein zweitrangiges Ansehen; und Bruce blieb nicht lange auf seinem einsamen Posten. Die Einrichtung ließ sich für den Anfang rechtfertigen; aber inzwischen sind sechs Jahre vergangen, und die Angelegenheit sollte wieder einmal geprüft werden.

Als Kissinger China zum dritten, vierten und

fünftens Mal besuchte, rief die « Öffnung » kein besonderes Hochgefühl hervor. Die Chinesen zeigten noch immer kein Interesse, einen Vertreter entsprechenden Ranges als Besucher nach Washington zu entsenden, und Kissinger fand dies entmutigend. Wann immer er oder sein Mitarbeiterstab das Thema zur Sprache brachte, glaubten anscheinend die Chinesen, es sollte verworfen werden, da die Amerikaner es wünschten. Für Kissinger war es jedoch ein Trost, daß die amerikanischen Nachrichtenmedien kein Interesse dafür gezeigt hatten, wie einseitig die « Normalisierung » sich vollzog. Weder das Weiße Haus noch das Außenministerium sah einen großen Zweck darin, die Angelegenheit für sie zu erleuchten.

Als die Wahlergebnisse vom November 1976 Kissinger dieses Problems entledigten, war er ganz davon überzeugt, daß seine Bemühungen im Sande verlaufen würden. Die Sendungen von Peking waren weiterhin entmutigend und ließen keine Flexibilität oder Herrlichkeit erkennen. Die stereotypen Ausdrucksweise war immer noch zu hören: « Entspannung ist eine Täuschung », « Ein Krieg zwischen den blutdürstigen Supermächten — den USA und der UdSSR — ist unvermeidlich » usw.

Nun wird ein neuer Außenminister sein Glück versuchen. Cyrus Vance wird auf seine stille Art sich bemühen, den Chinesen ein gewisses Verständnis davon zu vermitteln, daß die Taiwan-Frage komplexer und möglicherweise unheilbringender sein könnte als z. B. das Tibet-Problem. Wahrscheinlich wird er in der Hauptschwierigkeit keine Fortschritte erzielen, aber vielleicht kann er sie in ein besseres Licht rücken. Nach dem Nahen Osten war Vance sehr wohl einen Szenen- oder Theaterwechsel begrüßen.

Botschafter Porter zog sich kürzlich nach vierzig Jahren vom amerikanischen diplomatischen Dienst zurück.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Notre contribution unique

Pour ceux d'entre nous qui n'ont pas encore trouvé leur propre place dans une carrière ou une affaire — ou dans la vie en général — il est essentiel de comprendre ce qu'est leur véritable individualité. En tant qu'idée spirituelle en Dieu, l'Entendement divin, chacun de nous est unique.

Afin de savoir ce que nous sommes vraiment supposés faire, nous devons tout d'abord apprendre qui nous sommes. La Science Chrétienne est une aide immense dans cette découverte de soi-même. Elle nous montre comment extirper de la pensée les tendances étrangères et mortelles qui voudraient nous limiter et comment trouver les éléments essentiels qui nous appartiennent en tant qu'idées spirituelles dans

l'Entendement, Dieu. Alors nous savons que tout ce que nous faisons en réalité a pour but d'exprimer Dieu. Christ Jésus pria : « Père... Glorifie ton Fils, afin que ton Fils te glorifie. » Et Paul conseilla aux Corinthiens : « [quel] que vous fassiez..., faites tout pour la gloire de Dieu. »

Cela signifie-t-il que l'identité de chacun est identique à celle de tous les autres ?

Loin de là. Parce que Dieu, l'Entendement divin, est illimité, il comprend un nombre infini d'idées infiniment variées, mais individuelles. Chacune de ces idées, ou identités, se reflète d'une manière individuelle. Par conséquent votre expression de Dieu et mon expression de Dieu ne peuvent être en conflit ni faire double emploi.

Trouver sa place signifie faire un pas à la fois, bien que notre but final ne soit pas visible. Mary Baker Eddy, qui a découvert et fondé la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « La sagesse dans l'action humaine commence par ce qui est le plus proche de ce qui est juste en la circonstance, et de là atteint l'absolu. »

Nous devrions toujours nous rappeler que notre but est de servir Dieu. De cette façon, même l'expérience la plus difficile peut devenir une occasion de mieux Le servir. A mesure que nous exprimons de façon progressive les qualités d'intelligence, de sagesse, de justice et d'amour, nos carrières s'épanouissent de façon à donner à nos talents particuliers le meilleur débouché possible et en même temps d'en faire bénéficier les autres. Après s'être référé à Dieu comme notre aide, Mrs. Eddy nous donne ce tendre encouragement : « Il a compassion de nous. Il a pitié de nous, et dirige chaque événement de notre vie. »

L'histoire de Joseph dans la Bible est un exemple vivant de la façon dont Dieu guida une carrière à travers un grand nombre de vicissitudes, y compris celle d'être vendu comme esclave et d'être également jeté en prison à la suite d'une fausse accusation. Joseph devait avoir une foi solide et ferme en ce que Dieu lui réservait. Il demeura actif spirituellement. Il usa de sa capacité de perception même en prison, pour aider les autres prisonniers à comprendre les rêves qu'ils faisaient. Et cette poursuite active de

la sagesse le mit finalement dans une position juste au-dessous de celle de Pharaon.

Comme Joseph, nous semblons être jetés peut-être dans une fosse de solitude, de frustration, d'abandon. Mais le Christ — l'idée spirituelle d'affiliation de l'homme à Dieu — est toujours présent dans la conscience et capable de nous inspirer et de nous donner la preuve de la direction divine.

Chaque période d'étude et d'action a un rôle important à jouer pour nous préparer à l'œuvre de notre vie. Nous ne pouvons déterminer ces différents stades nous-mêmes, mais la prière et la confiance en Dieu, ainsi que la mise en pratique de notre compréhension la plus profonde de Dieu et de l'homme, assurement notre progrès continu.

Nous tournant vers l'Entendement divin pour être guidés et agissant de notre mieux, nous trouvons notre propre place dans l'univers de Dieu.

¹ Jean 17:1; ² I Corinthiens 10:31; ³ Miscellaneous Writings, p. 288; ⁴ Unité du Bien, p. 3.

*Christian Science (Kristians 'Sciënse)

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec le Christ en Personne » de Mary Baker Eddy, est en vente dans les églises de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commandant à Frances C. Carlton, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Unser einzigartiger Beitrag

Für diejenigen von uns, die noch nicht ihre spezielle Nische im Beruf oder im Geschäftsleben — oder ganz allgemein im Leben — gefunden haben, ist ein Verständnis ihrer wahren Individualität wesentlich. Als eine geistige Idee in Gott, dem göttlichen Gemüt, ist ein jeder von uns einzigartig.

Um zu wissen, zu welcher Aufgabe wir wirklich berufen sind, müssen wir zuerst verstehen lernen, wer wir sind. Die Christliche Wissenschaft ist bei dieser Suche nach dem eigenen Selbst eine unvermeidliche Hilfe. Sie zeigt uns, wie wir die sterblichen, nicht zu uns gehörenden Gedankengänge, die uns begrenzen möchten, ausmerzen und die wesentlichen Elemente, die uns als göttigen Ideen im Gemüt, in Gott, zu eigen sind, finden können. Dann wissen wir, daß in Wirklichkeit der Zweck von allem, was wir tun, darin liegt, Gott zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Christus Jesus betete: « Vater, ... verherrliche deinen Sohn, auf daß dich der Sohn verherrliche. » Und Paulus gab den Korinthern folgenden Rat: « Was ihr tut, ... tut es alles zu Gottes Ehre. » Bedeutet dies, daß die Individualität eines jeden mit der jedes anderen Menschen identisch ist?

Weit davon entfernt. Da Gott, das unendliche Gemüt, unbegrenzt ist, schließt Er eine unendliche Zahl von unendlich verschiedenenartigen aber individuellen Ideen ein. Eine jede dieser Ideen, oder Identitäten, spiegelt sich auf individuelle Weise wider. Daher können Ihr Ausdruck Gottes und mein Ausdruck von Ihm nicht miteinander in Konflikt geraten oder sich überschneiden.

Unsere Nische zu finden heißt, einen Schritt nach dem anderen zu tun, wenn auch unser endgültiges Ziel noch nicht sichtbar ist. Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft entdeckte und gründete, schreibt: « Bei menschlichen Handlungen beginnt die Weisheit mit dem, was unter den gegebenen Umständen dem Rechten am nächsten kommt, und von da aus vollbringt sie das unbedingt Rechte. »

Wir sollten immer daran denken, daß es unser Ziel ist, Gott zu dienen. Auf diese Weise können wir selbst die schwierigste Herausforderung in eine Gelegenheit, ihm besser zu dienen, verwandeln. Je mehr wir solche Eigenschaften wie Intelligenz, Weisheit, Gerechtigkeit und Liebe zum Ausdruck bringen, desto besser werden wir in unserem Beruf vorankommen, und zwar so, daß wir am besten unsere speziellen Talente entfalten

und gleichzeitig anderen Nutzen bringen können. Nachdem Mrs. Eddy auf Gott als unseren Helfer Bezug genommen hat, gibt sie uns die folgende sanfte Ermahnung: « Er erbarmt sich unser. Er erzeugt uns Barmherzigkeit und leitet jede Begebenheit auf unserem Lebensweg. »

Die biblische Geschichte von Joseph ist ein anschauliches Beispiel dafür, wie Gott eine Laufbahn durch mehrere Schicksalsschläge hindurch leitete, in denen Joseph u. a. in die Knechtschaft verkauft und aufgrund einer falschen Anschuldigung ins Gefängnis geworfen wurde. Joseph mußte einen festen, beständigen Glauben an das gehabt haben, was Gott für ihn bereit hatte. Er blieb geistig aktiv. Er machte sogar im Gefängnis von seiner Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit Gebrauch, um den Mitgefangenen die Bedeutung ihrer Träume verstehen zu helfen. Und durch dieses aktive Streben nach Weisheit erlangte er schließlich eine Position, in der er an Macht nur der des Pharaos nachstand.

Wie Joseph, so scheinen auch wir manchmal in eine Grube der Einsamkeit, Frustration oder Vernachlässigung geworfen zu sein. Aber der Christus — die geistige Idee von der Gotteskindschaft des Menschen — ist immer im Bewußtsein gegenwärtig und kann uns inspirieren und uns den Beweis von Gottes Führung erlangen.

Jeder Abschnitt des Lernens und Handelns spielt bei unserer Vorbereitung auf unser Lebenswerk eine wichtige Rolle. Wir können diese Schritte nicht selbst planen, aber durch Gebot und Vertrauen auf Gott und dadurch, daß wir unserem höchsten Verständnis von Gott und dem Menschen gemäß leben, ist unser beständiger Fortschritt gesichert.

Wenn wir uns wegen Führung an das göttliche Gemüt wenden und unser Bestes tun, erkennen wir unseren individuellen Platz in Gottes Universum.

¹ Johannes 17:1; ² I. Korinther 10:31; ³ Vermischte Schriften, S. 288; ⁴ Die Einheit des Guten, S. 3.

*Christian Science (Kristians 'Sciënse)

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift » von Mary Baker Eddy, ist in den englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesestätten der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlton, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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Homemade diving board, Napa, California

Far away from it all

Photograph by John Arms

The exchange of gifts

The morning was young when from opposite directions we both came to settle on the same beach — I an American with my books and bathing suit, she an African with all her wares. As I spread out my straw mat, I watched her approach, small in the distance. Yards of flowing orange cloth swirling around her; and a huge calabash, wrapped in bright pink fabric, sat naturally on top of her head. She drew closer; we regarded one another in silent curiosity. Soon she passed me, and about four yards beyond my mat, lifted her bowl from her head and placed it on the cool morning sand.

She faced away from me now, in the direction of the private beach of an imposing hotel on whose border she had stationed herself. Sitting in the sand, she commenced to prepare her small marketplace. Off slid one of her well-worn rubber sandals; she used it to smooth out a spare yard of sand in front of her. She disrobed herself of one of many cloth layers, and spread out the orange fabric on her smooth sand plot. Next, with the care of an artist displaying her most precious sculptures, she laid out her small collection: melons, oranges, coconuts and mangoes. Then, from deep in her calabash, she proudly produced a dozen or so bottles of suntan oil which she placed in a row along the front of her cloth — facing what would soon become a beach rich with tourists.

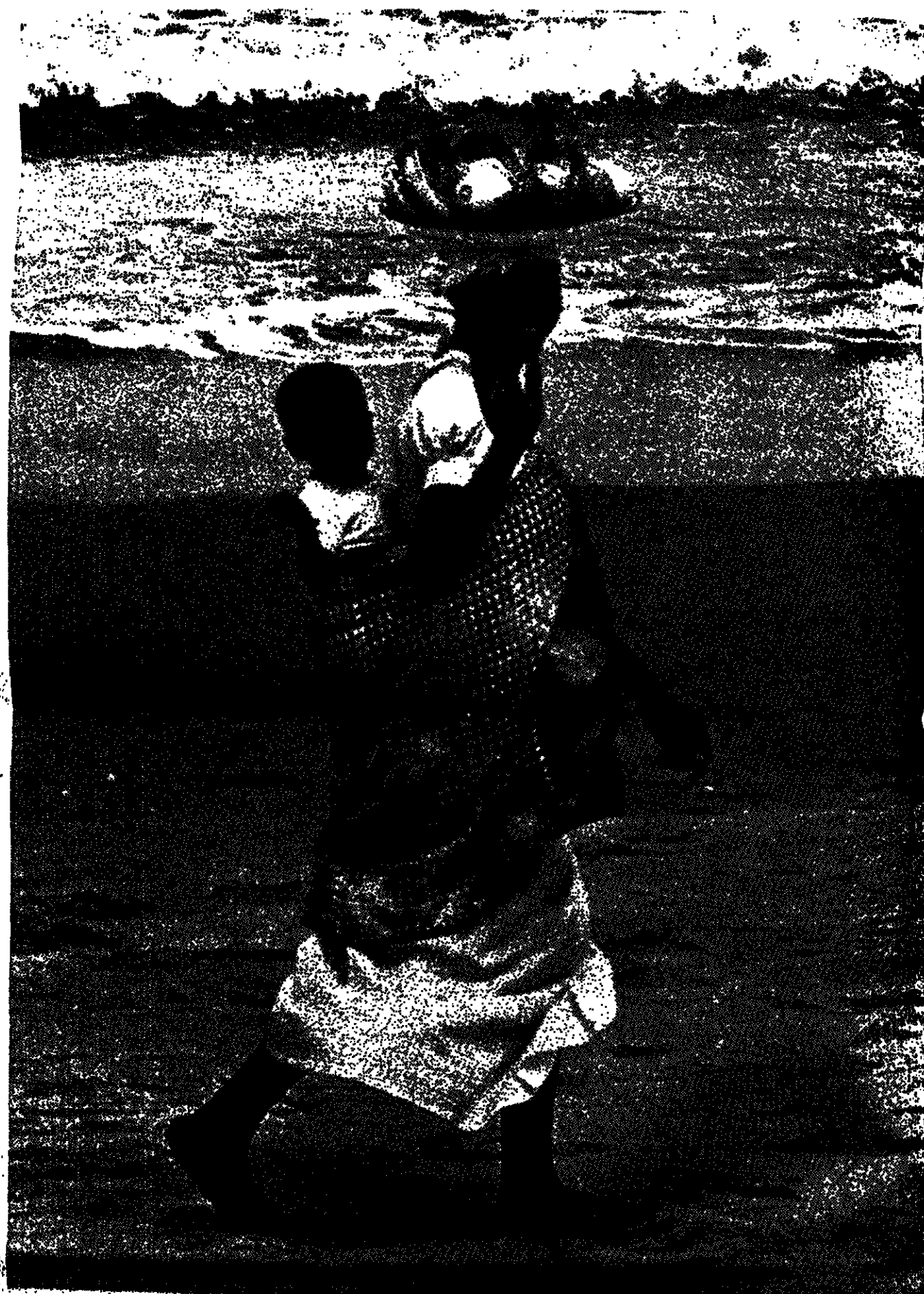
The morning wind almost upset her small store, but she grabbed four coconuts, placed one on each corner of her cloth, and solved the dilemma. When her shop was all set up, I walked over to purchase a coconut to find that she had only the four which anchored her display. So I selected an orange instead, and we were both pleased with this early morning sale. We exchanged francs and oranges, smile for smile. We clasped hands, and I returned to my mat.

Then we waited. I for the sun, she for the tourists.

It was only 9 a.m., and the private beach lay quiet; no footprints awakened its raked sand. But the public beach (where the young woman and I sat) was already alive with morning freshness. Children, dressed in pajama-like clothes and white plastic sandals with green plastic soles, danced, giggled and played soccer nearby. At the foot of my mat a group of ten young boys lay on their stomachs, heads centered, legs stretched out in star effect. Where their heads met, in the middle of the star, their quick lips moved in a chatter of Wolof words, the exact meaning of which was beyond me though the delightful feeling was clear. I listened, content with simply understanding the feeling. I said nothing, for I'd found that my English words confuse the ears that hear a different language. What communicates best is a feeling, a sense of unity that has nothing to do with words. In this country, words in my tongue obscure the messages they're employed to carry; like empty shells on a beach which get in the way of tender-stepping feet.

The day progressed. The force of waves, sun, tourists and village children increased with each new hour. But still there were no customers for my friend with her small market. Instead, more women (wearing their veves) came to set up little shops, all banking along that invisible but oh-so-clear border between private and public beach. My friend welcomed them all, as though no one had told her about the laws of competition. With a patience apparently natural to her, but remarkable to me, she continued to sit by her goods while the sun peaked and began to lose its strength.

When late afternoon had crept over us, she had sold only one orange, and I had read only



Waves near the waves: Photograph by Stewart Dill McBride

Courtesy of the photographer

one poem. Thirsty and hungry, I left the public beach and walked to the hotel's shore cafe for a late lunch. I returned an hour later, just in time to see two fellow-tourists buy my friend's entire fruit collection — for less than the price of my lunch. Not knowing the price of my lunch, the market woman smiled radiantly at the sale. And I, having now been on both sides of the beach, struggled within myself: where was the balance between these

two shores? I felt embarrassed, knowing that, in effect, my lunch had been as grand as her entire calabash of fruit.

Disoriented, I rolled up my mat and hoped the sun would set quickly to end this day of uneven profits.

As I left, my one-woman-market motioned to me and held up a bottle of suntan oil. "Codeau," she said smiling. Meekly, and with awe, I accepted her gift, and once again

commenced a disheartened departure. I took one last glance at her and noticed she was looking at my new rubber sandals. I looked at her worn ones and remembered how she had used them to smooth out the sand. I slipped out of mine and placed them in her hands. "Codeau," I said smiling — and suddenly the day was genuinely profitable.

Bunny McBride

Bridge between two worlds

The rainbow has at least been explained by a satisfactory quantitative theory. The theory (which I will not bother you with at the moment) "was worked out with the aid of some of the most powerful tools of mathematical physics which were devised explicitly to deal with rainbows."

I quote. Fair enough. I will tell you about it seriously in a little while. But first I must wonder how satisfactory Ursula-Maria would find this theory if I mailed a copy of the report to her. Would she remember the day many years ago in Germany when she was seven and I was eight and we gazed at the first arch of celestial hues we had ever knowingly seen? It stood over the Weser, its left leg on one bank, its right leg on the other, arching up over the ships, the pastures, the trees, the people, higher and higher into the heavens and even above the sun that had just broken over the dark edge of the retreating cloud.

Mother cried, "A rainbow!" Father explained, "A rainbow comes into being when sunlight strikes moist air, breaking up into the colors of which the light really consists. Just as it sometimes happens in Mother's crystal vase. It is known as refraction."

Mother waited for just the right number of moments of respectful silence to elapse before she added: "Of course, there is even more to a rainbow than that, isn't there? A book is more than printed pages and a cover. So a rainbow is more than refraction, wouldn't you say, Father?"

He, perhaps reminded by a sweetly imploring sidelong glance that it was he who, after all, read to us the fairytales each evening, hastened to agree: "Oh, indeed, so much more, so much more."

Yes, there it was, the old bifurcation of thought into intuition and intellect. Intuition came first and spoke to the ancient Germans in their own metaphors: the rainbow was a bridge connecting gods and men; it spoke to the Masai in their metaphors: the rainbow was the robe of deity; to the Christian iconographers it was the throne of Christ — all interpretations born of the heart, eschewing theories, celebrating visions.

But coming up from behind intuition and swiftly overtaking it was the march of observation and reason: Aristotle who saw the refraction, Roger Bacon who measured the angles of that refraction, Theodoric of Freiberg who perceived a cosmos of rainbows; each droplet transmitting its own rainbow to

our eye. On and on, right up to the theory of H. Moyses Nussenzweig which prompted this essay and appeared in the *Scientific American* of April, 1977.

"The theory," he wrote: "involves much more than geometric optics; ... it makes allowance for wave-like properties such as interference, diffraction and polarization, and for particle-like properties such as the momentum carried by a beam of light."

"But why shouldn't a rainbow," I hear Mother say, trying for the reconciliation of heart and head, "be both, refraction and feeling, the thing we can measure and the thing we can't measure?"

"Yes, indeed," Father responded, gratefully. "Quite so. A book is both, the paper and the feelings."

The memory of Father and Mother agreeing in the face of the heavenly sight, warms my heart. And, as always, having warmed my heart, it proceeds to open my mind. Before I quite know why it should, the slight, sorrowing pain that had settled on me when I thought I was faced with yet another ruthless quantification of the unquantifiable, lifts, and leaves me.

I turn to the article in the *Scientific American* again. My eyes light on the one sentence that would have prevented my pain had preconception not blinded me to it. It is located on the very first page, in the very first paragraph. It is, I confess, the opening sentence.

"The rainbow," writes the scientist, "is a bridge between the two cultures: poet and scientist alike have long been challenged to describe it."

Again, the bridge. The bridge between the two cultures, between the two worlds, the outer and the inner, that everyone of us perceives in everything in varying degrees of balance; everyone, including scientists.

Did the first impulse that led H. M. Nussenzweig to devote months if not years of his life to measuring and explaining the last material mysteries of this phenomenon originate in a similar childhood memory? When he stood somewhere with his parents gazing at the celestial wonder? Parents, come to think of them, who gave him the name Moyses. Moyses. Moyses Nussenzweig: Moyses Branch-of-the-Nut-Tree. A fairytales bridge between two of his ancestral cultures, between the Spanish hidalgo and the Yiddish peasant, bridge between the two men in each of us.

Andreas de Rhoda

August day

Illuminated fields, across your green and gold the shining texts of finches are a chronicle, as if a pilgrim sun had written medieval scriptures there.

Below me are a foothill and a town, a river's rumor; where the milkweed joins the summer goldenrod, the trees begin their August march across the pollen grains

lifting from tassels on their secret sails. And far-off sounds combine with butterflies whose stained-glass wings remind of madrigals, and minnesingers under chaster skies

All glows: I feel a language on my tongue, ancient and garden, as if the first words spoken in Eden are in every song, a poet's celebration, and a bird's.

O, their shine! Even in me, roustabout of melodies, the light does not go out; the fields rise on my breath; I am their breads and wheaten tastes and they supply my needs!

Oliver Hale

The Monitor's religious article

Our unique contribution

To those of us who have not yet found our particular niche in career or business — or life in general — an understanding of our true individuality is essential. As a spiritual idea in God, the divine Mind, each of us is unique.

To know what we are really meant to be doing, we have to first learn who we are. Christian Science is an immense help in this self-discovery. It shows us how to weed out the mortal, extraneous trends of thought that would limit us and how to find the essential elements that belong to us as spiritual ideas in Mind, God. Then we know that the purpose of all we do is actually to express God. Christ Jesus prayed, "Father, ... glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee." And Paul counseled the Corinthians, "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

Does this mean that everyone's individuality is identical with everyone else's? Far from it. Because God, Infinite Mind, is unlimited, He includes an infinite number of infinitely varied but individual ideas. Each one of these ideas, or identities, reflects Him in an individual way. Therefore your expression of God and my expression of Him cannot conflict or overlap.

Finding our niche means taking one step at a time, although our final goal may not be visible. Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, writes, "Wisdom in human action begins with what is nearest right under the circumstances, and thence achieves the absolute."

We should always remember that serving God is our goal. In this way even the most challenging of experiences can be turned into an opportunity to serve Him better. As we progressively express the qualities of intelligence, wisdom, justice, and love, our careers will bloom in ways that will best give an opening for our particular talents and at the same time benefit others. After referring to God as our helper, Mrs. Eddy gives us this tender encouragement: "He pities us. He has mercy upon us, and guides every event of our careers."

The story of Joseph in the Bible is a vivid example of how God guided a career through a number of vicissitudes, including that of being sold into slavery and also being thrown into prison on a false charge. Joseph must have had a strong, abiding faith in what God had in store for him. He stayed spiritually active. He used his perceptive power, even in prison, to help the other prisoners understand their dreams. And this active pursuit of wisdom eventually put him in a position second only to that of Pharaoh.

Like Joseph, we may seem to be cast into a pit of loneliness, frustration, neglect. But the Christ — the spiritual idea of man's sonship to God — is always present in consciousness and is able to inspire us and give us proof of God's guidance.

Each period of learning and doing has an

BIBLE VERSE

If ye will tear the Lord, and serve him, and obey his voice, and not rebel against the commandment of the Lord, then shall both ye and also the king that reigneth over you continue following the Lord your God.

1 Samuel 12:14

important part to play in preparing us for our lifework. We cannot plan these steps for ourselves, but prayer and reliance on God, and the living of our deepest understanding of God and man, will ensure our continued progress.

Looking to the divine Mind for guidance, and doing the best we can, we realize our own place in God's universe.

*John 17:1; **1 Corinthians 10:31; †Miscellaneous Writings, p. 298; ‡Unity of Good, pp. 3-4.

Within the closeness of God's family

To feel a natural warmth and affection for all our brothers and sisters as children of God is to be drawn within the encircling love of our divine Parent. The Bible speaks of this bond of universal brotherhood and assures us that we are all the sons and daughters of God. It tells us that God can help us in every circumstance.

A fuller understanding of God is needed to reach to the core of every discord with a healing solution. A book that speaks of the all-goodness of God, His love and His constancy, in clear understandable terms is Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy.

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Joseph C. Harsch

Mr. Carter has two big new problems

President Jimmy Carter's first six months were relatively easy. He only had one politically difficult operation — the scrapping of the B-1 bomber. He handled that in masterly fashion. He defanged the military lobby by giving the Pentagon the cruise missile and the neutron bomb. They couldn't complain too much when they got two of the three new things they wanted.

True, he failed during those six months to win applause from organized labor and the black political organizations. But that would have done him more harm than good. The grumbling complaints from those two quarters were reassuring to larger numbers of Americans who, rightly or wrongly, think that both labor and blacks have of late been getting more than their fair share of advantages from Washington.

Any president who can keep on the plus side of the military lobby, organized labor, and the black leadership — all at the same time — has proved his skill as a political tactician. But there are degrees of political skill. Mr. Carter won his BA by getting elected and his MA in his first six months. But he still has to earn his PhD, doctorate in applied political science. The test for that lies just ahead.

Wisely or unwisely Mr. Carter has elected to try at once for his Panama Canal treaty, and to push ahead with his efforts to build a per-

manent settlement between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East. Both operations will mean major political battles on the home front. The forces he must overcome to win both are gathering. The price for winning will be high. The penalties for failure are higher.

The Panama Canal issue is loaded with emotions on the home front. Republicans can run with it all through the South and Southwest. Even in the Midwest and North right-wing, patriotic and veterans organizations are upset at the idea of hauling down the Stars and Stripes from the Panama Canal Zone. They did not mind too much when the Philippines and Cuba were given their independence, but that Canal Zone is something else again.

The existence of that 10-mile strip right through the middle of Panama, filled with some 50,000 U.S. Americans leading an economically superior existence, is a source of pride to a lot of U.S. Americans and a source of deep political resentment to Latin Americans.

Resentment over the U.S. "colonial enclave," as they call it, in Panama runs right through Latin America from top to bottom. It has become the best weapon communism has in those countries. The "good neighbor policy" will never seem convincing so long as the United States retains privileged status in the Canal Zone. That flag must come down if the

Latinos to the south are to believe that the U.S. truly is a "good neighbor." If the treaty is rejected by the Senate — the communists will be the first to cheer.

Hence, for foreign policy reasons Mr. Carter must get that treaty through the Congress. But the domestic price will come high.

He has even stronger reasons to win a peace settlement in the Middle East. Failure to get it would ruin years of gradual improvement in American relations with the Arab countries. They have one by one pulled away from Moscow and moved over to Washington. They have held back on oil prices. They have come to look to Washington for their needs. But this has all been based on the assumption that they could get back the lost territories — the Sinai peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights.

This was the Kissinger legacy — the Arab expectation of getting the lost territories back through Washington's influence with Israel. But that was before Israel's new Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, began referring to the West Bank as "liberated Israel," rather than as an occupied territory.

Even a man as strong as Mr. Begin would have to back away from that position if the new President of the United States made

American weapons and economic aid conditional on Israel giving up most of the occupied territories, including the West Bank.

If Mr. Carter fails to use his bargaining power the logical result would be another war (which Israel would win easily). The Arabs would blame the United States, impose another oil embargo, and largely turn back to Moscow for weapons and economic aid. It would set the clock back by at least 10 years, perhaps longer. It would damage U.S. relations with its West European allies. It would restore Moscow's lost position in the Middle East.

But the price of the settlement would be enormous at home. Mr. Carter has tried to anticipate and head off some of that pressure building up among pro-Israeli groups by his "human rights" campaign. But the credit he has won from that could disappear overnight if it came to a real test of political strength in the United States between himself and Mr. Begin.

It is not certain that Mr. Carter can get his Panama treaty through the Senate. It is even less certain that the Congress would back him in a showdown with Mr. Begin. If the patriotic groups who loathe the Panama treaty and Israeli supporters who back Mr. Begin make common cause — Mr. Carter will have flunked his doctorate.

South Koreans bearing gifts — modern act in a morality play

Melvin Maddocks

The periodical crisis in "ethics" is getting to be as regular a part of the American political scene as threats of war in the Middle East and ups and downs in the stock market. South Koreans bearing gifts to Congressmen represent only the latest act in a morality play that really goes back, not just to Watergate but to Thomas Morton and his Merry Mount backsliders of the late 1630s, who may be thought of as the first Americans to be pronounced unethical.

Vocabulary is crucial to American ethical self-searching. Has a "crime" been committed, or a "sin," or an "in-discretion"? The confusion runs deep, causing "alleged" to be employed with care and frequency by those trembling on the edge of moral judgment.

At least three attitudes may be classified, in order of their severity. There are those who are "shocked" — who regard the Korean lobbyists as "corrupting," with their Hollywood-like parties, paid-for trip offers (often extended just before a vote on South Korean aid), and gift-wrapped rings and cufflinks (followed, it seems, by a request now and then that nice things be said about President Park Chung Hee in the Congressional Record). At their most shocked, the shocked may ask, as they did with Watergate (as they did with Teapot Dome, as they did with the Grant administration bribery scandals after the Civil War): Can the Republic survive?

Then there are those who are "disappointed" rather than

"shocked." They would regret, for instance, that the presumably legitimate practice of lobbying should turn into "influence-peddling." This is an "abuse" of the system, and it must be checked, like a leak in an otherwise sound boat. The "disappointed" handle their ethical crises like a job. They are methodical broomsweepers who keep hand-wringing and breast-beating to a minimum.

Finally there are those inclined to describe themselves as "realists" who find the moralists "hopelessly naive." Let the editorial writers and ministers fuss if they must. The realists know that this is the way of the world, this is the way "things get done." Regrettable. One would not wish the world like this. But here it is how it stands, and aren't the "shocked" and the "disappointed" rather hypocritical to make a huge tak-tak over necessary compromises? How do they get through life themselves?

The position of the "realist" has been stated in the pages of the Saturday Review by A. Carl Kofman, former president of Lockheed. Stipulating "the chill realities of extortion, Japanese style," he argues that "we had to follow the functioning system" — i.e., bribe appropriate officials — in order to remain "competitive by the rules of the game." For doing so, and thus preserving jobs for hundreds of its

workers, Lockheed has been made a "scapegoat," he protests.

During these crises of ethics Americans seem to polarize into idealists and pragmatists. But do they? Or are the American idealist and the American pragmatist not one and the same person, quarreling within himself? The idealists are "shocked" at the corruption, but by believing that the corruption exists only in "others," the pragmatist remains elect, -too, pure in heart — a closet idealist. Like the Harvard faculty who accepted Korean money for scholarly research, Americans not only don't believe they can be corrupted. They can't imagine that anybody else would believe it possible either.

An American cannot escape the Utopian expectations his country was born with. He elects presidents — Wilson, Hoover, Eisenhower, Carter — because of their "character." Secretly he may wonder if one can be a politician or a businessman or anything else and be honest. But something in his heart leaps when a candidate promises, "I won't lie to you," or asserts that everybody in his administration will be "clean as a hound's tooth." How these sanitary expressions dazzle our imagination!

Behind all the styles of moral rhetoric, what does the Korean tragedy prove? Like every other crisis in ethics — and there have been so many now — this latest episode indicates that Americans, even the "realists," are still capable of being "shocked" and "disappointed." We remain innocents. And that, as usual, is our hope and our despair.

India's open door bureaucracy

By K. R. Sundar Rajan

New Delhi "India has the most accessible administration in the world," said an American diplomat. "You can meet most Cabinet ministers and senior government officials within 48 hours of making a request."

On the lawn of No. 1 Akbar Road, Prime Minister Morarji Desai's bungalow, I counted nearly 500 scheduled visitors.

For meeting "ordinary" people, I found a group of Western tourists waiting to see him. One of them said: "We just walked in without any appointment. This cannot happen in any other capital."

Whenever he is in New Delhi, Mr. Desai is surrounded by a throng of people.

one day. The Prime Minister talked to many of them and received a flood of handwritten petitions. The grievances ranged from land disputes to police high-handedness to domestic quarrels.

An American government official told me that by going through one of his personal secretaries, diplomats from Communist countries also agree that the air of utter informality pervading official New Delhi is unequalled.

Prime Minister Desai has ordered that Cabinet ministers and senior officials should be accessible even to the humblest of citizens. Most ministers have dispensed with security guards.

The result is a remarkable awareness in the highest circles of the Indian administration of the public mood. When a visitor complimented Industries Minister George Fernandes on his performance in Parliament, Mr. Fernandes said: "I'm afraid I can't accept your congratulations because I know from my morning visitors that the man in the street thinks differently. Industry is still in a mess."

So far, there is little to suggest that this high degree of accessibility has led to an improvement in the administration's efficiency. Some senior government officials even say that, as

one of them put it, "Too much democracy is slowing down the wheels of the administration." They point out that officials are reluctant to take major decisions for fear that they may be overruled by public pressure.

A certain degree of remoteness is necessary to ensure administrative efficiency," argued one official in the sprawling Federal Ministry of Education.

Several Cabinet ministers and MPs belonging to the ruling Janata or People's Party told me that a balance would be struck soon between accessibility and efficiency. They all thought the present atmosphere of excessive informality is an inevitable reaction to the previous regime's secretive approach.

Many senior bureaucrats are not quite happy with the change. As a close friend of Federal Health Minister Raj Narain put it: "All these years bureaucrats were a law unto themselves. They even bossed over Cabinet ministers because of the latter's lack of administrative experience and expertise. This is now changing. If a citizen finds it difficult to meet a senior bureaucrat, he can walk into the minister's house."

Mr. Rajan is a former editorial writer for The Times of India.

Readers write

Carter's stand on rights

Jimmy Carter's moral indignation about human rights failures in Russia, Rhodesia, and South Africa would be more believable if also applied to Tel Aviv.

Israel bombs the SS Liberty, raids Entebbe, and Lebanon; allegedly receives tons of uranium stolen on the high seas — and we stand mute and unseeing before these violations of accepted international behavior.

Yet when Rhodesia, using the paramilitary tactics we allow Israel, attacks guerrilla groups in Mozambique we are outraged. Consistency is most certainly not a jewel in Carter's carefully directed morality. Polli-

cal expediency at home is no excuse for half-hearted morality abroad. We should either condemn all human rights violations wherever they exist or climb into the shell we find so convenient in respect to such countries as Israel, Iran, South Korea, and the Philippines. Farede, Portugal.

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Newbury Street, Boston, MA 02115.

COMMENTARY

Helping the underdeveloped nations

By Francis Renny

The Third World has squandered the one effective weapon it had in its struggle for economic justice — the power to fix oil prices. Much of the money it brought in has been spent on huge arms purchases, designed to protect the oil producers from each other.

Besides requiring Western technicians to service them and spare parts to keep them operational, the rate of order is so high that the oil producers can no longer afford to cut off their own revenues for the shortest period. Hence the current oil glut on the world markets since once more. Hence the petrol pump price slashes which had already brought down British four-star gallons from as high as 92-pence to as low as 81 — even before tax cuts.

This situation emerges from a pamphlet "The New International Economic Order: The Promise and the Reality," prepared in Geneva for the Quaker World Committee for Consultation by its leading representative Sylvain Minault. Its object is to show how the great campaign for a New (more just) International Economic Order, reconciling rich countries with poor, has made so little progress since it was launched in Algiers in 1973. Its depressing conclusion is that there will be very little improvement in the foreseeable future.

Between World War II and the early 1960s, the newly liberated colonies fondly believed they would be free at last to close up the gap

between their poverty and Western wealth. But most of them had been insufficiently trained and developed to run their own economies. They needed advice, aid, and investment from the very people they thought they were dispensing with.

There were two approaches to developing the underdeveloped, says Sylvain Minault: what he calls the Trickle-downers, who thought that the benefits from aid and international trade would trickle down to the people; and the Go-it-aloners, like India's Gandhians, who wanted to concentrate on local systems and traditions.

The latter almost invariably failed to take charge. Not only was their way the slower and tougher; it was not "modern," didn't appeal to the westernized elite groups that mostly ran the ex-colonies. But in fact the money from aid and trade did not trickle down. It went to the elite, the military, or back to whence it came in the form of profits and debt repayments.

So there began a series of United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and Third World Ministerial Meetings, which finally produced the demand for a New International Economic Order which would allow the poorer nations to make at least some visible progress for all their efforts.

Complex schemes have been drawn up to avoid drastic fluctuations in the prices of Third World commodity exports; to cushion the

Third World against the effects of Western inflation; and to spare the Third World some at least of the impact of the oil price weapon, designed to hit the pockets of the West. But the rich remain as reluctant as ever to give to the poor, and there has been a revival of the Go-it-alone school. Examples, beside the constant one of China, are Cuba, Tanzania, and Sri Lanka.

Sylvain Minault says the new school of Go-it-alone argues that a developing nation's first priority must be food. Most developing nations are overwhelmingly agricultural, yet most of them can't feed themselves. So never mind industrialization, never mind high technology (which only benefits the elite), and never mind the unreal target of "closing the gap" between rich and poor. What's most needed is food and jobs — and less spending on arms.

Yet progress this way is very slow, always liable to be brushed aside in favor of some grandiose, patriotic scheme with popular appeal if minimal results. So the temptation is to return to the UNCTAD table with sweeping demands that usually get talked to a standstill. The recession in the industrialized countries has hit hard at the developing nations, says Sylvain Minault, dramatically undermining their bargaining power.

The resulting frustration must inevitably lead to violence, he believes. Already the su-

perpowers are skilled at the game of manipulating the developing nations as pawns in the game of confrontation.

Is there any hope, any way out? Not much. But there are some patchy outbreaks of improvement here and there. There is a growing concern on the part of the rich to arrive, ultimately, at an accommodation with the poor. Here and there formerly underdeveloped nations — Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, Brazil, Mexico, Iran — are qualifying for developed status.

But for most of the poor there is no hope of significant improvement under present social, political, and economic structures. They can't move forward until they have got rid of greedy and corrupt elites, feudal landlords, useless but dangerous armed forces. "Such reforms," says Minault, "could only come about by drastic political action, a polite way of saying revolution."

The rich cannot hold onto their privileges in the face of the mounting frustration of the poor. It has been said often enough. But unless the rich are convinced by the moral and economic arguments to share the world's resources more equitably "a chaotic and violent world will surround us all."

Mr. Renny is a British journalist based in London.

Greece bounces back

By Angelos A. Tsakalanganos

Greece recently celebrated the anniversary of three years of democratic government. In mid-1974, stifled by a military junta for over seven years, the nation found itself courting social and economic bankruptcy as well as political dissolution. Nothing was working well except power for the self-vested authorities. Arbitrary interventions in private lives and business proceedings, censorship of the communications media, partial and repressive "justice," and a 24 percent rate of inflation, among other debilitating factors, had stifled the laborious but steady development the country had been achieving since World War II.

Greece's recovery during these last three years has been termed a "miracle," and, all things considered, the notion may not be that far off the mark. The return of a palatable political format and a worthy political chief, Premier Constantino Karamanlis, seemed to free the country's growth. Karamanlis set the tone by releasing all political prisoners immediately, unsmuzzing the press, and getting to work on a five-year plan, which has just been renewed, and a new Constitution, which was adopted in June, 1975.

Growth on virtually all fronts has been significant and in some areas spectacular. GNP rose 3.7 percent in 1975 and 7.9 percent in 1976 for an average of 5.8 percent per annum, five

times the rate in the European OECD countries. Average annual inflation dropped to 13.7 percent, half the 1974 figure. The wages of manufacturing employees soared: a 23.7 percent increase as of the third quarter of 1976 over the same period in the previous year, which already registered a rise of 23.1 percent over 1974. The pay of trade and civil service workers rose only slightly less. Real personal disposable income went up an average of 5.2

percent per annum — a gain of better than 12 percent over the 1974 level, when there was a decline of 7.2 percent.

The country's financial strength in international terms has been waxing apace. While Greece still buys three times as much as it sells abroad, its exports are steadily gaining on its imports, despite such drawbacks as the mushrooming price of oil, stepped-up defense expenditures due to the Cyprus crisis, and depressed worldwide economic conditions. Adding this trend to other advantageous transactions, like the \$156 million (58 percent) in-

crease of foreign capital deposits in Greek banks between 1974 and 1976, economic analysts are forecasting a rapid reduction of the balance of payments deficit.

The quality of life in the nation, obviously, has markedly improved with the political regeneration and economic advances. The rise in disposable income, along with the government's expansionist credit policies, has stimulated domestic consumption and thus enhanced material comforts across the board — in housing, clothing, transportation, home appliances. Education services are being progressively extended into rural regions. Book publishing has regained its vigor. National actors, painters, composers, and other performing and creative artists have returned from junta- or self-imposed exile, bringing with them a resurgence of cultural life. Public and private resources are being focused on the preservation and restoration of Greece's unique inheritance of antiquities.

In international political status, perhaps the widest index of all, Greece's stock has risen higher than the installation of democratic government would have projected. Sagacious if relatively conservative economic planning is part of the explanation, at least with regard to the West. For the country's stance is accidental, as evidenced by the interaction with the



Ulster. Historic event in a troubled land

By Alf McCreey

When Queen Elizabeth left Northern Ireland, her words of encouragement to the two communities were drowned by the old political war-cries. For the majority of Protestants the visit had been a great success, but for Roman Catholics it had been largely a nonevent. The presence of a British monarch on Ulster soil, for the first time in 11 years, had underlined how the hearts rule the heads in this troubled land.

The reactions were an instinctive response to a historic event. The mainly Roman Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party declined invitations to the Royal reception; but Unionists were glad to accept. The SDLP, led by Gerry Fitt, incurred Protestant wrath by refusing an invitation (flippantly, the Reverend Ian Paisley huffed about not being invited to a Royal lunch, but accepted an invitation to a garden-party, the next best thing).

The Belfast and Dublin Republican papers were cool to the point of rudeness; the Belfast Unionist papers were warm in their praise for the Queen and Prince Philip.

There was, an overriding relief, that the Queen had left safely. The IRA threat to give her a day to remember proved hollow. Though they stage-managed a riot which received disproportionate publicity on the first day of the visit, the Provisionals in general lost face. However, they still showed some fire-power by planting a token bomb at the New University of Ulster some hours after the Royal visit and by shooting a British soldier the next day.

Outside observers have made their own assessments; some after only brief visits, but those who live in Northern Ireland and who seek the middle ground have found the reactions to the Queen's speech predictable and depressing.

She talked about reconciliation, yet the chairman of the SDLP, Denis Haughey, com-

plained that "she never mentioned partnership." The Queen talked about the need for both sides to "live and work together in friendship and forgiveness," yet some Unionist politicians regarded the visit as a reaffirmation of the British link and created their own mandate for a resurgence of the monolithic Unionism that had been destroyed by events since 1968.

The monarchy by convention cannot mention politics but the Queen did as much as she could to lighten the Ulster people. Her personal courage in coming to Ulster at all and the gorgeous trappings of that visit, — including the first Royal investiture on Irish soil — created happy memories for so many people starved of color and pageantry.

The enormous security precautions, involving about 32,000 troops and police, highlighted how abnormal conditions in Ulster remain. There is no doubt, however, that in more ordinary circumstances the Queen would have

been given a welcome unsurpassed in any other part of the United Kingdom. Thousands, including Catholics, crowded to the coast to catch a glimpse of the Royal yacht Britannia. Much of this was due to affection for the Queen, rather than political loyalty — a point which Republicans tend to overlook, or else choose to ignore.

Mrs. Betty Williams, a leader of the Peace People and herself a Roman Catholic who accepted an invitation to meet the Queen, summed up a typical nonpolitical view. "She is a warm, wonderful human being who obviously knows a lot about our problems."

Unfortunately it takes a great deal more warmth to begin to melt the remaining hearts of stone.

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